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AUGUSTUS & CLEOPATRA.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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CONTENTS TO VOL. X.

BOOK XXI.

ARTICLE I.

Page

SECT. I. Hiero the second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punic war 1

II. Hiero's pacific reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes, his relation, to the service of the public, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people 9

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. Hieronymus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the princesses. Hippocrates and Epicides possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians, as Hieronymus had done ... 23

35081

Page

SECT. II. The conſul Marcellus beſieges Syracuſe. The conſiderable loſſes of men and ſhips, occaſioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the ſiege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a ſoldier who did not know him 39

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. Tomb of Archimedes diſcovered by Cicero . 56
II. Summary of the hiſtory of Syracuſe 59
III. Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracuſans, and upon Archimedes .. 63

BOOK XXII.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. Mithridates, at twelve years old, aſcends the throne of Pontus. He ſeiſes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having firſt expelled their kings. The Romans re-eſtabliſh them. He cauſes all the Romans in Aſia Minor to be put to the ſword in one day. Firſt war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himſelf maſter of Aſia Minor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He beſieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles againſt the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Ariſtotle. Sylla cauſes it to be carried to Rome 87

Page

SECT. II. Second war againſt Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years' duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus conſul ſent againſt him. He obliges him to raiſe the ſiege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a complete victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the ſiſters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes his ſon-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Aſia 101

III. Lucullus cauſes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches againſt him. Vanity and ridiculous ſelf-ſufficiency of that prince. He loſes a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a ſecond victory over the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus 118

IV. Mithridates, taking advantage of the diſcord which had ariſen in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is choſen to ſucceed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in ſeveral battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his ſon-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own ſon. Pompey marches into Armenia againſt Tigranes, who comes to him and ſurrenders himſelf. Weary of purſuing Mithridates to no purpoſe, he returns into Syria, makes himſelf maſter of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt againſt his father Mithridates, who kills himſelf. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jeruſalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph 138

BOOK XXIII.

Page

SECT. I. Ptolemæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyls; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra and her brother, very young, succeed him 163

SECT. II. Pothinus and Achillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia, retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra with her younger brother upon the throne, and returns to Rome 176

III. Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of

Page

Julius Cæsar having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the Triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is complete. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire 190

Conclusion of the Ancient History 223

Chronological Table 228

General Index 311

THE

with their honey. The oracle declaring, that ſo ſingular an event was a certain preſage of his future greatneſs, Hierocles cauſed him to be brought back to his houſe, and took all poſſible care of his education.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him as could be expected. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf early from all thoſe of his years, by his addreſs in military exerciſes, and his courage in battle. He acquired the eſteem of Pyrrhus, and received ſeveral rewards from his own hands. He was of a beautiful aſpect, large ſtature, and robuſt complexion. In his converſation * he was humane and polite, in buſineſs juſt, and moderate in command; ſo that he wanted nothing royal except the throne.

[b] Diſcord having ariſen between the citizens of Syracuſe and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raiſed Artemedorus and Hiero to the ſupreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time thirty years old, but of a prudence and maturity, that promiſed a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of ſome friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverſe party, who were intent upon nothing but raiſing diſorders, he behaved with ſo much wiſdom and greatneſs of mind, that the Syracuſans, though highly diſſatisfied with the liberty aſſumed by the ſoldiers of making ſuch an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of ſupreme commander.

From his firſt meaſures it was eaſy to judge, that the new magiſtrate aſpired at ſomething more than that office. In effect, obſerving that the troops no ſooner quitted the city, than Syracuſe was involved in new troubles by ſeditious ſpirits and lovers of novelty, he

[b] A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

* *In alloquio blandus, in negotio juſtus, in imperio moderatus; prorſus ut nihil ei regium deeſſe, præter regnum, videretur.* JUSTIN.

he perceived how important it was in the abſence of himſelf and the army, to have ſomebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus ſeemed very fit for that purpoſe, he had abundance of perſons devoted to his intereſts, and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himſelf for ever, by eſpouſing his daughter, and by the ſame alliance ſecured the public tranquillity, during the time he ſhould be obliged to remove from Syracuſe, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far leſs juſt, ſtroke of policy, eſtabliſhed his ſecurity and repoſe. He had every thing to fear from the foreign ſoldiers, turbulent malignant men, void of reſpect for their commanders, and of affection for a ſtate of which they made no part, ſolely actuated by the deſire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to aſſume a right in the election of magiſtrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the leaſt diſcontent, of attempting any thing againſt himſelf. He eaſily comprehended, that he ſhould never have the maſtery over them, from their being too well united amongſt themſelves; that, if he undertook to puniſh the moſt criminal, their chaſtiſement would only provoke the reſt; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occaſioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whoſe licentiouſneſs and rebellious diſpoſition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious exceſſes. Deceived by a falſe zeal and blind love for the public good, and ſenſibly affected alſo with the proſpect of the dangers to which he was perpetually expoſed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the ſafety of his country and ſecurity of his perſon, to proceed to a cruel and ſad extremity, equally contrary to his character and juſtice, but which ſeemed neceſſary to him in the preſent conjuncture. He therefore took the

field under the pretext of marching againſt the Mamertines *. When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one ſide he poſted ſuch of the ſoldiers as were Syracuſans: on the other, thoſe who were not ſo. He put himſelf at the head of the firſt, as if he intended an attack, and left the others expoſed to the Mamertines, who cut them to pieces, after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracuſan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite diſorders and ſedition, he raiſed a ſufficient number of new troops, and afterwards diſcharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their ſucceſs, advancing into the country, he marched againſt them with the Syracuſan troops whom he had armed and diſciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. [c] A great part of the enemies were left upon the place, and their generals made priſoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuſe, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened ſeven years after his being raiſed to the ſupreme authority.

It would be difficult to juſtify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign ſoldiers in motion himſelf, which ſeems probable enough, or only lent himſelf to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true the irregularity of his entrance upon office was ſomewhat amended by the conſent which the people and allies afterwards gave to it. But can we ſuppoſe, in ſuch a conjuncture, that their conſent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that: if his ſecret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for,

[c] A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268.

* They were originally Campanian troops, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards ſieged Meſſina, having firſt put the principal inhabitants to the ſword.

for, by his wife and diſintereſted conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loſs of the battle we have ſpoken of entirely diſconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourſe to the Carthaginians, to whom they ſurrendered their citadel; others reſolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and ſent to deſire their aid. Hence aroſe the firſt Punic war, as I have explained more at large * elſewhere.

[d] Appius Claudius the conſul put to ſea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to paſs the ſtrait of Meſſina, of which the Carthaginians had poſſeſſed themſelves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterpriſe, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Meſſina on the ſide next the ſea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and paſſed the ſtrait without danger.

[e] The Mamertines, between menaces and ſurpriſe, having driven the officer out of the citadel, who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians ſoon after formed the ſiege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman conſul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracuſans firſt. The fight was rude. Hiero ſhowed all poſſible courage, but could not reſiſt the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuſe. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, ſaw himſelf maſter of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuſe, and even deſigned to have beſieged it.

[f] When the news of Appius's good ſucceſs arrived at Rome, it occaſioned great joy. In order to make the

[d] Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4. [e] Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.
[f] A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Ibid. p. 15, 16.
* Vol. I. Hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

the moſt of it, it was thought proper to uſe new efforts. The two conſuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius, and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival ſeveral of the Carthaginian and Syracuſan cities ſurrendered at diſcretion.

The conſternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was ſenſible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and conſtant amity on the ſide of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the deſign they had anciently formed, of poſſeſſing themſelves of all Sicily; and if they made themſelves maſters of Meſſina, he rightly judged his power would be very inſecure in the neighbourhood of ſuch dangerous and formidable enemies. He ſaw no other expedient for the preſervation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well aſſured that the war would be long and obſtinate between theſe two republics equal in their forces, and that as long as they ſhould be at blows, he ſhould have no reaſon to apprehend being diſtreſſed either by the one or the other. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to the conſuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refuſing thoſe offers. They were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians, maſters at ſea, might cut off all paſſage for proviſions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops, who had firſt paſſed the ſtrait, had ſuffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero ſecured the legions in that reſpect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king ſhould reſtore to the Romans, without ranſom, all the priſoners he had taken from them, and pay them an hundred * talents in money.

From thenceforth Hiero ſaw no war in his dominions, nor had any other ſhare in it, than of ſending ſupplies to the Romans upon occaſion. In other reſpects

* An hundred thouſand crowns.

ſpects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the eſteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more ſucceſsful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wiſdom and prudence. During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilſt all things were in flames around him, occaſioned by the cruel wars which the two moſt potent ſtates of the world made againſt each other, he was ſo prudent and happy to be no more than a ſpectator of them, and only to hear the noiſe of thoſe arms, which ſhook all the neighbouring regions; himſelf and his people retained a profound peace.

[g] The Romans perceived on more than one occaſion, during the firſt Punic war, and eſpecially at the ſiege at Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly ſupplied them with proviſions at times when the Roman army, without his aid, had been expoſed to exceſſive famine.

The interval between the end of the firſt Punic war, and the commencement of the ſecond, which was about five and twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little ſpoken of.

[h] Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to ſupport againſt the ſtrangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themſelves extremely preſſed, had recourſe to their allies, and eſpecially to king Hiero, who granted them all they aſked of him. That prince conceived, that to ſupport himſelf in Sicily, it was neceſſary that the Carthaginians ſhould overcome in this war; leſt the ſtrangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in caſe of entire ſucceſs, ſhould find no further obſtacles to their projects, and ſhould form deſigns of bringing their victorious army into Sicily. Perhaps alſo

[g] Polyb. l. i. p. 18. [h] A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

alſo, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard againſt the too great power of the Romans, who would become abſolute maſters, if the Carthaginians ſhould be entirely ruined in the war againſt the revolters.

Hiero's ſole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his ſubjects happy, and to redreſs the evils which the unjuſt government of Agathocles, who preceded him ſome years, and the inteſtine diviſions conſequential of them, had occaſioned; an employment worthy of a great king. There was a levity and inconſtancy in the character of the Syracuſans, which often inclined them to exceſſive and violent reſolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a juſt and reaſonable obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wiſdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they reſpected the authority of the laws and magiſtrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no ſooner entered upon office, and had the ſupreme authority confided to him, than he ſhowed his deteſtation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, conſidering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and repoſed their whole confidence in the foreign ſoldiers, by whom they were perpetually ſurrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exerciſes of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECT. II. *Hiero's pacific reign. He particularly favours Agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes his relation to the service of the public, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people.*

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his words, than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parents of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an infinity of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and

turns their current into the houſes of the people, by a commerce renewing every year the deſerved fruit of their labour and induſtry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wiſe government, as one of the moſt eſſential parts of wiſe and ſalutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himſelf entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the ſovereignty to ſtudy and be ſkilful in all the rules of agriculture. [i] He even gave himſelf the trouble to compoſe books upon that ſubject, of which we ought much to regret the loſs. But he conſidered that object of his inquiries in a manner ſtill more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the ſtate, and the moſt certain fund of the prince's revenue conſiſted in corn. He therefore believed it of the higheſt conſequence, and what demanded his utmoſt care and application, to eſtabliſh good order in that traffic, to render the condition of the huſbandman, of whom the greateſt part of the people were compoſed, ſafe and happy; to aſcertain the prince's dues, whoſe principal revenue roſe from them; to obviate ſuch diſorders as might get ground to the prejudice of his inſtitutions; and to prevent the unjuſt vexations, which endeavours might poſſibly be uſed to intrude in the ſequel. To anſwer all theſe purpoſes, Hiero made regulations ſo wiſe, reaſonable, equitable, and at the ſame time conformable to the people's intereſts, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always obſerved as ſacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all ſucceeding times. When the Romans had ſubjected the city and dominions of Syracuſe, they impoſed no new tributes, and decreed*, that all things ſhould be diſpoſed according to *the laws*

[i] Polyb. l. xviii. c. 3.

* *Decumas lege Hieronica ſemper vendendas cenſuerunt, ut iis jucundior eſſet muneris illius functio, ſi ejus regis, qui Siculis cariſſimus fuit, non ſolum inſtituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remanaret.* Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

laws of Hiero: in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws, and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands, and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to say, *farmers of the tenths.* Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince and a good œconomist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country people, who consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burthens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such * just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector even of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbaudman's quitting his home upon any pretext whatsoever. Cicero says accordingly, inveighing against

* *Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segitibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maxima pœna, fraudare decumanum.* Cic. Orat. in Vere de frum. n. 20.

againſt Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journeys; it is very hard and afflicting to the poor huſbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from their plow to the bar; and the care of tilling their lands to that of proſecuting law-ſuits. [k] *Miſerum atque iniquum ex agro homines trahi in forum, ab aratro ad ſubſellia, ab uſu rerum ruſticarum ad inſolitum litem atque judicium:* And beſides, can they flatter themſelves, let their cauſe be ever ſo juſt, that they ſhall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum perſequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praiſe than what we have now ſaid? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conqueſts, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon theſe accounts might paſs for a hero in the ſenſe of the generality of men. But with how many taxes muſt he have charged his people! How many huſbandmen muſt he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining of thoſe victories have coſt him! and of what emolument would they have been to the ſtate! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory conſiſts, placed his in governing his people with wiſdom, and in making them happy. Inſtead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a ſtate conſiſts; and which can never fail to happen when the people of a country reap a reaſonable advantage from their labour.

[l] It was in the ſecond Punic war, that Hiero gave diſtinguiſhed proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As ſoon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped

k Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

l A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. Liv. l. xxi. ii. n. 50, 51.

equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Meſſina, to offer that conſul his ſervices, and to aſſure him that advanced in age as he was, he would ſhow the ſame zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth, in the firſt war againſt the Carthaginians. He took upon him to ſupply the conſul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expenſe. Upon the news received the ſame inſtant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the conſul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no uſe of them at that time.

[m] Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears ſtill more conſpicuouſly after their defeat near the lake of Thraſymene. They had already loſt three battles againſt Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, ſent a fleet laden with proviſions to the port of Oſtia. The Syracuſan ambaſſadors, upon their being introduced to the ſenate, told them, "That "Hiero, their maſter, had been as ſenſibly afflicted "on their laſt diſgrace, as if he had ſuffered it in his "own perſon. That though he well knew, that the "grandeur of the Roman people was almoſt more "admirable in times of adverſity, than after the moſt "ſignal ſucceſſes; he had ſent them all the aid that "could be expected from a good and faithful ally, "and earneſtly deſired the ſenate would not refuſe to "accept it. That they had particularly brought a "victory of gold, that weighed three hundred pounds, "which the king hoped they would vouchſafe to "receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the "vows which he made for their proſperity. That "they had alſo three hundred thouſand buſhels of "wheat, and two hundred thouſand of barley; and "that if the Roman people deſired a greater quantity, "Hiero would cauſe as much as they pleaſed to be "tranſported

[m] Liv. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

" tranſported to whatever places they ſhould appoint. " That he knew the Roman people employed none in " their armies but citizens and allies; but that he " had ſeen light-armed ſtrangers in their camp. " That he had therefore ſent them a thouſand archers " and ſlingers, who might be oppoſed ſucceſsfully to " the Baleares and Moors of Hannibal's army."— They added to this aid a very ſalutary piece of counſel, which was, that the prætor, who ſhould be ſent to command in Sicily, might diſpatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians ſuch employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power by that diverſion to ſend any ſuccours to Hannibal.

The ſenate anſwered the king's ambaſſadors in very obliging and honourable terms, " That Hiero acted " like a very generous prince, and a moſt faithful " ally: that from the time he had contracted an " alliance with the Romans, his attachment for them " had been conſtant and unalterable; in fine, that " in all times and places he had powerfully and mag- " nificently ſupported them: that the people had a " due ſenſe of ſuch generoſity: that ſome cities of " Italy had already preſented the Roman people with " gold, who, after having expreſſed their gratitude, " had not thought fit to accept it: that the victory " was too favourable an augury not to be received: " that they would place her in the Capitol, that is " to ſay, in the temple of the moſt high Jupiter, in " order that ſhe might eſtabliſh there her fixed and " laſting abode." All the corn and barley on board the ſhips, with the archers and ſlingers, were ſent to the conſuls.

Valerius Maximus * obſerves here, upon the noble and

* *Trecenta millia modiûm tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta & quadraginta pondo urbi noſtræ muneri miſit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum noſtrorum, quòd nollet accipere, in habitum id victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentiâ ſuâ uti cogeret: voluntate mittendi priùs, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis.*— VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 8.

and prudent liberality of Hiero; firſt in the generous deſign he forms, of preſenting the Romans three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then in the induſtrious precaution he uſes, to prevent their refuſal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in ſpecie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a victory, which they dared not refuſe, upon account of the good omen it ſeemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to ſee a prince, whoſe dominions were ſituate as Syracuſe was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome ſeemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her intereſts, notwithſtanding all the dangers to which ſo daring a conduct expoſed him. A more prudent politician, to ſpeak the uſual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been ſo haſty to declare himſelf without neceſſity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more eſtimable, for being rare and almoſt unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greateſt of all misfortunes for Syracuſe, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was ſituated over againſt it, and lay highly convenient for ſtrengthening its commerce, ſecuring it the empire of the ſea, and eſtabliſhing it entirely in Sicily, by the poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. It had therefore been imprudent to ſuffer ſuch allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians; who would not have been the better friends to the Syracuſans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a deciſive point, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuſe would neceſſarily fall after Rome, it was abſolutely requiſite to hazard every thing, either to ſave Rome, or fall with her.

If

If the facts, which hiſtory has preſerved of ſo long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the leſs idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

[n] The ſum of an hundred talents, (an hundred thouſand crowns) which he ſent to the Rhodians, and the preſents he made them after the great earthquake, which laid waſte their iſland, and threw down their Coloſſus, are illuſtrious inſtances of his liberality and magnificence. The modeſty, with which his preſents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He cauſed two ſtatues to be erected in the Public Place at Rhodes, repreſenting the people of Syracuſe placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, ſays Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent preſents, far from aſſuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himſelf their debtor upon that very account. And indeed the liberality and beneficence of a prince to ſtrangers is rewarded with intereſt, in the pleaſure they give himſelf, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a paſtoral of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 16.) named after the king we ſpeak of, wherein the poet ſeems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verſes made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verſes he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more juſtice upon the poet than upon the prince, diſtinguiſhed and eſteemed, as we have ſeen, from his liberality.

[o] It is to Hiero's juſt taſte, and ſingular attention to every thing that affected the public good, that Syracuſe was indebted for thoſe amazing machines of war, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee it make ſo great an uſe, when beſieged by the Romans. Though that prince ſeemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domeſtic affairs of the kingdom, he did

[n] Polyb. l. v. p. 429. [o] Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 306.

did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient power with Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanics, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the powers of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, "That with a certain given power any weight whatsoever might be moved." And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his posi-

tion

tion in execution, by removing ſome great weight with a ſmall force.

Archimides preparing to ſatisfy the juſt and rational curioſiiy of his kinſman and friend, he choſe one of the galleys in the port, cauſed it to be drawn on ſhore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its uſual lading to be put on board, and beſides that, as many men, as it could hold. Afterwards, placing himſelf at ſome diſtance, and ſitting at his eaſe, without trouble, or exerting his ſtrength in the leaſt, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pullies, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much eaſe, and as upright, as if it had ſwam upon the water.

The king, upon the ſight of ſo prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was entirely aſtoniſhed; and judging from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earneſtly ſolicited Archimedes to make ſeveral ſorts of machines and battering engines for ſieges and attacks, as well for the defence as aſſault of places.

It has been ſometimes aſked, whether the ſublime knowledge, of which we ſpeak, be neceſſary to a king; and if the ſtudy of arts and ſciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonſtrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taſte and curioſity, and employed himſelf ſolely in his pleaſures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his cloſet, and all his extraordinary ſcience been of no advantage to his country. What treaſures of uſeful knowledge lie buried in obſcurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, becauſe princes ſet no value upon learned men, and conſider them as perſons uſeleſs to the ſtate! But when, in their youth, they have imbibed ſome ſmall tincture of arts and ſciences, for the ſtudy of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they eſteem ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by learning, ſometimes converſe with them,

them, and place them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon the admirable machines of war, which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shows how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstract ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarise themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude, that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burthens to be built for the exportation of corn; a commerce, in which

almost

almoſt the whole wealth of the iſland conſiſted. [p] We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the moſt famous ſtructures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero paſſed whole days amongſt the workmen, to animate them by his preſence.

This ſhip had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was faſtened together on all ſides with huge nails of copper, which weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inſide had in it three galleries or corridors, the loweſt of which led to the hold by a deſcent of ſtairs, the ſecond to apartments, and the firſt to ſoldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left ſide of the middle gallery, there were to the number of thirty apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and ſeamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the laſt of which, that was at the poop, ſerved for a kitchen. All the floors of theſe apartments were inlaid with ſmall ſtories in different colours, taken from the Illiad of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts, were finiſhed with wonderful art, and embelliſhed with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermoſt gallery, there was a gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ſhip. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, diſpoſed in wonderful order. Pipes, ſome of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all round to refreſh them. There were alſo arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great veſſels filled with earth. Theſe veſſels were watered in the ſame manner as the gardens. The arbours ſerved to ſhade the walks.

After theſe came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious

[p] Athen. l. iii. p. 206—290.

precious ſtones, the fineſt that could be found in the iſland. The walls and roof were of cypreſs wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and ſmall ſtates. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outſide, was fixed a ſun-dial.

There was alſo an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing veſſel, made of a ſingle ſtone of various colours. This veſſel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ſhip's head was a great reſervoir of water, which held an hundred thouſand quarts.

All round the ſhip on the outſide were Atlaſſes of ſix cubits, or nine feet, in height, which ſupported the ſides of the ſhip; theſe Atlaſſes were at equal diſtances from each other. The ſhip was adorned on all ſides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigneſs; two at the head, two at the ſtern, and four in the middle, of equal dimenſions. Upon theſe towers were parapets, from which ſtones might be diſcharged upon the ſhips of an enemy, that ſhould approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inſide of them was filled with ſtones and arrows.

Upon the ſide of the veſſel, well ſtrengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to diſcharge ſtones, made by Archimedes: it threw a ſtone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits (eighteen feet) the diſtance of a ſtadium, or an hundred and twenty-five paces from it.

The ſhip had three maſts, at each of which were two machines to diſcharge ſtones. There alſo were the hooks and lumps of lead to throw upon ſuch as approached. The whole ſhip was ſurrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off thoſe who ſhould attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings *(corvi)* which, being thrown by machines, grappled the veſſels of the enemy, and drew them cloſe to the ſhip, from whence it was eaſy to deſtroy them. On each of the ſides were ſixty young men completely armed,

and

and as many about the maſts, and at the machines for throwing ſtones.

Though the hold of this ſhip was extremely deep, one man ſufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in the nature of a ſcrew, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this ſuperb veſſel, for which he was well paid. Hiero ſent him a thouſand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and cauſed them to be carried to the port of Pyræum. The medimnus, according to father Montfaucon, is a meaſure, that contains ſix buſhels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verſe was known at that time in Syracuſe.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this veſſel, except ſome, where it could not lie at anchor without danger, reſolved to make a preſent of it to king * Ptolemy, and ſent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other veſſels of leſs burthen attended this great ſhip. Three hundred thouſand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thouſand great earthen jars of ſalted fiſh, twenty thouſand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of ſalt meat, twenty thouſand bundles of different clothes, without including the proviſions for the ſhips' crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched ſome part of the deſcription Athenæus has left us of this great ſhip. I ſhould have been glad, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimenſions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a queſtion, which without it muſt for ever remained doubtful and obſcure.

Hiero's faith was put to a very ſevere trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almoſt univerſal defection of their allies. But the waſting of his dominions

* There is reaſon to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

minions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him. [p] He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would * perhaps have occasioned great trouble in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. [q] It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

p Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30. q A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

* *Movisset que in Sicilia res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspergeret, armantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpsisset.* Liv.

ARTICLE.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. *Hieronymus, grandſon of Hiero, ſucceeds him, and cauſes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conſpiracy. Barbarous murder of the princeſſes. Hippocrates and Epicides poſſeſs themſelves of the government of Syracuſe, and declare for the Carthaginians as Hieronymus had done.*

THE death of Hiero occaſioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandſon, a young * prince, incapable of making a wiſe uſe of his independency, and far from reſiſting the ſeducing impreſſions of ſovereign power. Hiero's apprehenſions, that the flouriſhing condition in which he left his kingdom would ſoon change under an infant king, ſuggeſted to him the thought and deſire of reſtoring their liberty to the Syracuſans. But his two daughters oppoſed that deſign with their whole credit; from the hope, that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they ſhould have all the authority, in conjunction with their huſbands, Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the firſt rank amongſt his guardians †. It was not eaſy for an old man of ninety, to hold out againſt the careſſes and arts of thoſe two women, who beſieged him day and night, to preſerve the freedom of his mind againſt their preſſing and aſſiduous inſinuations, and to ſacrifice with courage the intereſts of his family to thoſe of the public.

To prevent as far as poſſible the evils he foreſaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his counſel; and earneſtly deſired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to

* *Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modicè laturum.* LIV.

† *Non facile erat nonageſimum jam agenti annum, circumſeſſo dies noctiſque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privata curam.* LIV.

to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king, dying after these dispositions, the guardians he had appointed his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His * funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranadorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranadorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions made by the wisest princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The † best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things

* *Funus fit regium, magis amore civium & caritate, quam cura suorum celebrie.* LIV.

† *Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritate Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent ostendit.* LIV.

were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his ſon, during ſo many years, had ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments intimating pride. Hieronymus was preſently ſeen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and ſurrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionyſius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horſes. All the * reſt of his conduct was ſuitable to this equipage: a viſible contempt for all the world, haughty and diſdainful in hearing, and affectation of ſaying diſobliging things, ſo difficult of acceſs, that not only ſtrangers, but even his guardians, could ſcarce approach him; a refinement of taſte in diſcovering new methods of debauch; a cruelty ſo exceſſive, as to extinguiſh all ſenſe of humanity in him: this odious diſpoſition of the young king terrified the people to ſuch a degree, that even ſome of his guardians to eſcape his cruelty, either put themſelves to death, or condemned themſelves to voluntary baniſhment.

Only three men, Andranadorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's ſons-in-law, and Thraſo, had a great freedom of acceſs to the young king. He liſtened a little more to them than to the others; but as the two firſt openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of ſentiments, and very warm diſputes frequently the conſequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conſpiracy againſt the life of Hieronymus happened to be diſcovered. One of the principal conſpirators, named Theodotus, was accuſed. Being put to the queſtion, he confeſſed the crime as to himſelf; but all the violence of the moſt cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to ſupport the pains inflicted on

* *Hunc tam ſuperbum apparatum habitumque convenientes ſequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, ſuperbæ aures, contumelioſa dicta, vari aditus, non alienis modò ſed tutoribus etiam; liberdines novæ, inhumana crudelitas.* Liv.

on him, he accuſed the king's beſt friends, though innocent, amongſt whom he named Thraſo, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize; adding, that they ſhould never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expreſſed for the Roman intereſts rendered the evidence probable; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companion's being tortured, either fled or concealed himſelf; ſo much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the ſecret inviolable.

The death of Thraſo, who was the ſole ſupport of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partiſans of Carthage. Hieronymus diſpatched ambaſſadors to Hannibal, who ſent back a young Carthaginian officer of illuſtrious birth, named alſo Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but deſcended from the Syracuſans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permiſſion. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully aſſured themſelves, the river Himera, which almoſt divides the iſland, ſhould be the boundary of their reſpective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the praiſes of his flatterers, demanded, even ſome time after, that all Sicily ſhould be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The propoſal appeared idle and raſh, but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the firſt rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, ſent ambaſſadors to Hieronymus to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; aſking them with an air of raillery

and inſult, what had paſſed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambaſſadors had related incredible things of it; that it was eaſy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made anſwer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambaſſadors ſeriouſly and with reaſon: and, after having cautioned rather than deſired him not to change ſides too raſhly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himſelf, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Thoſe who had formed the conſpiracy mentioned before, purſued their ſcheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterpriſe, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuſe into the country.

Here is a ſenſible inſtance of the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms the ſecurity of a prince conſiſts, but the affection of his ſubjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that thoſe who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themſelves by the laws, behaved in ſuch a manner, that it might be ſaid the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himſelf rich and powerful for no other end, than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occaſion to take precautions for the ſecurity of his life: he had always the ſureſt guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuſe was afraid of nothing ſo much as of loſing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and inceſſantly bleſſed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born ſolely for himſelf, and valued himſelf upon governing them not as ſubjects but ſlaves, led the wretcheſeſt life in the world, if to live were

were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person, were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

[r] Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of the liberty, by which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seised the isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places, as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodorus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived

[r] A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—35.

arrived ſoon after at the city. They made themſelves maſters of the quarter Achradina, where, by ſhowing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they ſoon ſaw themſelves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confuſion. The next day, at ſun-riſe, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the ſenate was aſſembled, which had neither ſate, nor been conſulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the Senators, ſpoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He repreſented, "that having "experienced the indignities and miſeries of ſlavery, "they were moſt ſenſibly affected with them; but "that as to the evils occaſioned by civil diſcord, they "had rather heard them ſpoken of by their fathers, "than been acquainted with them themſelves: that "he commended their readineſs in taking arms, and "ſhould praiſe them ſtill more, if they did not pro-"ceed to uſe them, till the laſt extremity: that at "preſent it was his advice to ſend deputies to Andra-"nadorus, and to let him know he muſt ſubmit to the "ſenate, open the gates of the iſle, and withdraw his "garriſons: that if he perſiſted in his uſurpation, it "would be neceſſary to treat him with more rigour "than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at firſt made ſome impreſſion upon him: whether he ſtill retained a reſpect for the ſenate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or becauſe the beſt fortified part of the iſle having been taken from him by treachery, and ſurrendered to the Syracuſans; that loſs gave him juſt apprehenſions. But * his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princeſs, having taken

* *Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regiis animis ac muliebri ſpiritu, admonet ſæpe uſurpatæ Dionyſii tyranni vocis: quæ, pedibus tractum, non inſidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.*

taken him aſide, put him in mind of the famous ſaying of Dionyſius the tyrant, " That it was never proper " to quit the ſaddle" (i. e. the tyranny) " till pulled off " the horſe by the heels: that a great fortune might " be renounced in a moment; but that it would coſt " abundance of time and pains to attain it: that it " was therefore neceſſary to endeavour to gain time; " and whilſt he amuſed the ſenate with ambiguous " anſwers, to treat privately with the ſoldiers at Leon- " tium, whom it was eaſy to bring over to his intereſt " by the attraction of the king's treaſures in his poſ- " ſeſſion."

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this council, nor think proper to give into it without reſerve. He choſe a mean between both. He promiſed to ſubmit to the ſenate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the iſle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excuſed his delay and reſiſtance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant's puniſhment, as his uncle, he declared that he was come to put his perſon and intereſts into the hands of the ſenate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addreſſing himſelf to Theodotus and Soſis; " You have done," (ſaid he) " a memorable action. But believe me your glory is " only begun, and has not yet attained the height of " which it is capable. If you do not take care to " eſtabliſh peace and union among the citizens, the " ſtate is in great danger of expiring, and of being " deſtroyed at the very moment ſhe begins to taſte the " bleſſings of liberty." After this diſcourſe, he laid the keys of the iſle and of the king's treaſures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occaſion, and the temples were thronged during the reſt of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for ſo happy a change of affairs.

The next day the ſenate being aſſembled accord-

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ing to the ancient cuſtom, magiſtrates were appointed, amongſt the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus and Soſis, and ſome others of the conſpirators who were abſent.

On the other ſide, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had ſent at the head of two thouſand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, ſeeing themſelves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the ſoldiers under their command, returned to Syracuſe, where they demanded to be eſcorted in ſafety to Hannibal, having no longer any buſineſs in Sicily after the death of him, to whom they had been ſent by that general. The Syracuſans were not ſorry to part with thoſe two ſtrangers, who were of a turbulent factious diſpoſition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in moſt affairs a deciſive moment, which never returns after having been once let ſlip. The negligence in aſſigning the time for their departure, gave them opportunity to inſinuate themſelves into the favour of the ſoldiers who eſteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a diſguſt for the ſenate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, whoſe wife's ambition would never let him reſt, and who, till then, had covered his deſigns with ſmooth diſſimulation, believing it a proper time for diſcloſing them, conſpired with Themiſtus, Gelon's ſon-in-law, to ſeize the ſovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariſton, from whom he kept nothing ſecret. That profeſſion was not at all diſhonourable among the Greeks, and was exerciſed by perſons of no ignoble condition. Ariſton believing it his duty, as it really was, to ſacrifice his friend to his country, diſcovered the conſpiracy. Andranadorus and Themiſtus were immediately killed by order of the other magiſtrates, as they entered the ſenate. The people roſe, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from

from it, by the ſight of the dead bodies of the two conſpirators which were thrown out of the ſenate-houſe. They were then informed of their pernicious deſigns; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were aſcribed, rather than to the wickedneſs of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counſels. They inſinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name; that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at leaſt with him: that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aſpire to the tyranny: that not being able to ſucceed in their deſign by force, they had employed diſſimulation and perfidy. That neither favours and honours had been capable to overcome the wicked diſpoſition of Andranadorus; nor the electing him one of the ſupreme magiſtrates amongſt the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty: that as to the reſt, they had been inſpired with their ambition of reigning by the princeſſes of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At thoſe words, the whole aſſembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be ſuffered to live, and that it was neceſſary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reſerve or exception. * Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itſelf to ſlavery, or lords it with inſolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt thoſe extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to uſe it; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its paſſions, enflame its rage, and hurry it on to exceſſive violences, and the moſt inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itſelf; as was the caſe at this time. At the

* *Hæc natura multitudinis eſt; aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbe dominatur: libertatem, quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modice, nec habere ſciunt. Et non ferme deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad ſanguinem & cædes irritent.* Liv.

requeſt of the magiſtrates, which was almoſt ſooner accepted than propoſed, they decreed that the royal family ſhould be entirely deſtroyed.

Demarata Hiero's, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, the firſt married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themiſtus, were killed firſt. From thence they went to the houſe of Heraclia, wife of Zoippus; who having been ſent on an embaſſy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary baniſhment, to avoid being witneſs of the miſeries of his country. Having been apprized that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princeſs had taken refuge with her two daughters in the moſt remote part of her houſe, near her houſehold gods. When the aſſaſſins arrived there, with her hair looſe and diſordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition moſt proper to excite compaſſion, ſhe conjured them, in a faultering voice, interrupted with ſighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "Not to involve "an innocent princeſs in the guilt and misfortunes "of Hieronymus. She repreſented to them, that her "huſband's baniſhment had been to her the ſole fruit "of that reign: that not having had any ſhare in "the fortunes and deſigns of her ſiſter Demarata, "ſhe ought to have none in her puniſhment. Be-"ſides, what was there to fear, either from her, in "the forlorn condition and almoſt widowhood to "which ſhe was reduced, or from her daughters, "unhappy orphans, without credit or ſupport? That "if the royal family were become ſo odious to Syra-"cuſe, that it could not bear the ſight of them, they "might be baniſhed to Alexandria, the wife to her "huſband, the daughters to their father." When ſhe ſaw them inflexible to her remonſtrances, forgetting herſelf, ſhe implored them at leaſt to ſave the lives of the princeſſes her daughters, both of an age to inſpire the moſt inveterate and furious of enemies with compaſſion: but her diſcourſe made no impreſſion upon the minds of thoſe Barbarians. Having

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torn her in a manner from the arms of her houſehold gods, they ſtabbed her to death in the ſight of her two daughters, and ſoon after cut their throats, already ſtained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was ſtill more deplorable in their deſtiny was, that immediately after their death, an order of the people's came for ſparing their lives.

From compaſſion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury againſt thoſe, who had been ſo haſty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magiſtrates ſhould be nominated in the room of Andranadorus and Themiſtus. They were a long time in ſuſpenſe upon this choice. At length, ſomebody in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Thoſe two perſons were demanded with ſo much ardour by the multitude, which conſiſted of citizens and ſoldiers, that the ſenate could not prevent their being created.

The new magiſtrates did not immediately diſcover the deſign they had, of reinſtating Syracuſe in the intereſts of Hannibal. But they had ſeen with pain the meaſures which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-eſtabliſhment of liberty, ambaſſadors had been ſent to Appius, to propoſe renewing the alliance broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority ſuperior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, ſent deputies to the magiſtrates of Syracuſe, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the ſtate of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at firſt by ſecret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inſpired every body with great averſion for the Romans; giving out, that deſigns were formed for putting Syracuſe into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the

Party in the Roman intereſt, ſtrengthened thoſe ſuſpicions and accuſations ſo much, that the people ran tumultuouſly to prevent the Romans from landing, in caſe they ſhould have that deſign.

In this trouble and confuſion it was thought proper to ſummon the aſſembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reaſon to fear ſome ſedition, Apollonides, one of the principal ſenators, made a diſcourſe very ſuitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, "that never "city was nearer its deſtruction or preſervation than "Syracuſe actually was at that time: that if they "all with unanimous conſent ſhould join either "the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would "be happy: that if they were divided, the war "would neither be more warm nor more dangerous "between the Romans and Carthaginians, than be"tween the Syracuſans themſelves againſt each other, "as both parties muſt neceſſarily have, within the "circumference of their own walls, their own troops, "armies, and generals: that it was therefore abſo"lutely requiſite to make their agreement and union "amongſt themſelves their ſole care and application; "and that to know which of the two alliances was to "be preferred, was not now the moſt important queſ"tion: that for the reſt, the authority of Hiero, in "his opinion, ought to carry it againſt that of Hiero"nymus; and that the amity of the Romans, happily "experienced for fifty years together, ſeemed prefer"able to that of the Carthaginians, upon which they "could not much rely for the preſent, and with which "they had as little reaſon to be ſatisfied with regard to "the paſt. He added a laſt motive of no mean force, "which was, that in declaring againſt the Romans, "they would have the war immediately upon their "hands; whereas, on the ſide of Carthage, the danger "was remote."

The leſs paſſionate this diſcourſe appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to deſire the opinion of the ſeveral bodies of the ſtate, and the principal officers of

of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requeſted to confer together. The affair was long diſcuſſed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no preſent means for ſupporting the war againſt the Romans, a peace with them was reſolved, and ambaſſadors ſent to conclude it.

Some days after this reſolution had been taken, the Leontines ſent to demand aid of Syracuſe, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation ſeemed to come very ſeaſonably for diſcharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their no leſs dangerous leaders. Four thouſand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not ſorry himſelf, for the occaſion they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no ſooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops ſent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracuſans of this act of hoſtility, and demanded, that this ſtranger ſhould be baniſhed from Sicily, with his brother Epycides; who, having repaired about the ſame time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuſe, by exhorting them to reſume their liberty as well as the Syracuſans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuſe, but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracuſans, as an entirely free city. Hence when the Syracuſans ſent to complain of the hoſtilities committed againſt the Romans, and to demand the expulſion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracuſans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuſe related to Marcellus this anſwer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the diſpoſal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war againſt them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himſelf maſter of it at the firſt attack.

Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deſerters found in the place, to the number of two thouſand, were put to the ſword; but as ſoon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other ſoldiers were ſpared, and even every thing taken from them was reſtored, except what was loſt in the firſt tumult of a city carried by ſtorm.

Eight thouſand troops, ſent by the magiſtrates of Syracuſe to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a falſe account of what had paſſed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falſely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the ſword, as well as the troops ſent thither by the Syracuſans.

This artful falſehood, which they ſwallowed without ſuſpicion, inſpired them with compaſſion for their companions. They expreſſed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to theſe troops, appeared at the very inſtant of this trouble and tumult, and put themſelves under their protection, not having any other reſource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report ſoon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Soſis were. When they were informed of the cauſe of the tumult, they advanced haſtily, blamed the ſoldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being ſeiſed and bound. The ſoldiers oppoſed this with great menaces; and the two generals ſent expreſſes to Syracuſe, to inform the ſenate of what had paſſed.

The army, however, continued its march towards Mægara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which ſeemed to be written by the magiſtrates of Syracuſe to Marcellus. They praiſed him for the ſlaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him

him to treat all the mercenary ſoldiers in the ſame manner, in order that Syracuſe might at length be reſtored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almoſt entirely compoſed. They were for falling upon the few Syracuſans amongſt them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from the motives of piety or humanity, but that they might not entirely loſe their hopes of re-entering Syracuſe. They ſent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the ſtorming of Leontium conformably to the firſt account. Thoſe reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates ſhould be ſhut againſt the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the ſame time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magiſtrates, and took poſſeſſion of the city. The next day the ſlaves were ſet at liberty, the priſoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the higheſt offices, in a tumultuous aſſembly. Syracuſe, in this manner, after a ſhort irradiation of liberty, ſunk again into its former ſlavery.

SECT. II. *The conſul Marcellus beſieges Syracuſe. The conſiderable loſſes of men and ſhips, occaſioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the ſiege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a ſoldier who did not know him.*

AFFAIRS being in this ſtate, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuſe. When he was near it, he ſent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he

[a] A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518.

he came to reſtore liberty to the Syracuſans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their propoſals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to beſiege their city, they ſhould ſoon be made ſenſible of the difference between attacking Syracuſe and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to beſiege the place by ſea and land *; by land on the ſide of Hexapyla; and by ſea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were waſhed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land-forces and reſerved that of the fleet to himſelf. It conſiſted of ſixty gallies of five benches of oars, which were full of ſoldiers armed with bows, ſlings, and darts, to ſcour the walls. There were a great number of other veſſels, laden with all ſorts of machines, uſed in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuſe was in great conſternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppoſe ſo terrible a power, and ſuch mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impoſſible to have reſiſted them, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle man, whoſe wonderful induſtry was every thing to the Syracuſans: this was Archimedes. He had taken care to ſupply the walls with all things neceſſary to a good defence. As ſoon as his machines began to play on the land-ſide, they diſcharged upon the infantry all ſorts of darts, and ſtones of enormous weight, which flew with ſo much noiſe, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppoſe their ſhock. They beat down and daſhed to pieces all before them, and occaſioned a terrible diſorder in the ranks of the beſiegers.

Marcellus ſucceeded no better on the ſide of the ſea. Archimedes had diſpoſed his machines in ſuch a manner, as to throw darts to any diſtance. Though the

* The deſcription of Syracuſe may be ſeen in Vol. III.

the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible baliſtæ and catapultæ. When they overſhot their mark, he had ſmaller, proportioned to the diſtance; which put the Romans into ſuch confuſion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greateſt danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and ſtrong machines behind the walls, which ſuddenly letting fall vaſt beams, with an immenſe weight at the end of them, upon the ſhips, ſunk them to the bottom. Beſides this, he cauſed an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; the perſon who guided the machine, having catched hold of the head of a ſhip with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up and ſet upon its ſtern, and held ſo for ſome time; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pully, it was let fall again, with its whole weight either on its head or ſide, and often entirely ſunk. At other times the machines dragging the ſhip towards the ſhore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, daſhed it to pieces againſt the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby deſtroyed all within it. Gallies frequently ſeiſed and ſuſpended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful ſight to the ſpectators, after which they were let fall into the ſea, and ſunk to the bottom, with all who were in them.

Marcellus had prepared at great expence, machines called *ſambucæ*, from their reſemblance to a muſical inſtrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that uſe, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left ſide. Theſe were joined together, two and two, on the ſides without oars. This machine conſiſted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the ſides of two

gallies

gallies joined together, and extended conſiderably beyond their beaks; upon the maſts of theſe veſſels were affixed cords and pullies. When it was to work, the cords were made faſt to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pullies; others at the head aſſiſted in raiſing it with levers. The gallies afterwards being thruſt forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *ſambuca* was then let down (no doubt after the manner of a draw-bridge) upon which the beſiegers paſſed to the walls of the place beſieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilſt it was at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls, Archimedes diſcharged a vaſt ſtone upon it that weighed ten * quintals, then a ſecond, and immediately after a third; all of which ſtriking againſt it with dreadful force and noiſe, beat down and broke its ſupports, and gave the gallies upon which it ſtood ſuch a ſhock that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almoſt diſcouraged, and at a loſs what to do, retired as faſt as poſſible with his gallies, and ſent orders to his land-forces to do the ſame. He called alſo a council of war, in which it was reſolved the next day, before ſun-riſe, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to ſhelter themſelves from the machines, which, for want of a diſtance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided againſt all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already obſerved, that carried to all diſtances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very ſhort, required leſs time for preparing them, and in conſequence were more frequently diſcharged. He had beſides made ſmall chaſms

* The quintal, which the Greeks called τάλαντον, was of ſeveral kinds. The leaſt weighed an hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largeſt more than twelve hundred.

chaſms or loop-holes in the walls at little diſtances, where he had placed † ſcorpions, which not carrying far, wounded thoſe who approached, without being perceived but by that effect

When the Romans according to their deſign had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themſelves very well covered, they found themſelves expoſed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with ſtones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no ſooner removed, than a new diſcharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; ſo that they loſt great numbers of men, and almoſt all their gallies were diſabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their loſs in the leaſt upon their enemins. For Archimedes had planted moſt of his machines in ſecurity behind the walls; and the Romans, ſays Plutarch, repulſed by an infinity of wounds, without ſeeing the place or hand from which they came, ſeemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loſs what to do, and not knowing how to oppoſe the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleaſantries upon them. "Shall we perſiſt," ſaid he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a "geometrician, who treats my gallies and ſambucas "ſo rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants "with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and "ſurpriſing diſcharges upon us." Marcellus had reaſon for referring to Archimedes only. For the Syracuſans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himſelf the ſoul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the

† The ſcorpions were machines in the nature of croſs-bows, which the ancients uſed in diſcharging darts and ſtones.

the city at that time made uſe of none, either defenſive or offenſive, but thoſe of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans ſo much intimidated, that if they ſaw upon the walls only a ſmall cord, or the leaſt piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to diſcharge ſome dreadful machine upon them; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the ſiege into a blockade. The Romans conceived, they had no other reſource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all proviſions that might be brought to them either by ſea or land. During the eight months in which they beſieged the city, there were no kind of ſtratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almoſt to the aſſault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon ſome occaſions, have a ſingle man and a ſingle ſcience, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuſe of only one old man, the great ſtrength of the Roman arms muſt inevitably take the city; his ſole preſence arreſts and diſconcerts all their deſigns.

We here ſee, which I cannot repeat too often, how much intereſt princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of ſcience by honourable diſtinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoveriſh a ſtate. I ſay nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happineſs of his genius, and profound knowledge; I conſider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loſs had Syracuſe ſuſtained, if to have ſaved a ſmall expence and penſion, ſuch a man had been abandoned to inaction and obſcurity! Hiero was far from ſuch a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to underſtand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it uſeful; and

and did not ſtay, till occaſion or neceſſity obliged him to do ſo, which would have been too late. By a wiſe foreſight, the true character of a great prince and a great miniſter, in the very * arms of peace he provided all that was neceſſary for ſupporting a ſiege, and making war with ſucceſs; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuſe was allied in the ſtricteſt manner. Hence were ſeen to ariſe in an inſtant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and ſize, the very ſight of which were ſufficient to ſtrike armies with terror and confuſion.

There is amongſt theſe machines, of which we can ſcarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call the reality in queſtion, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, ſuch, for inſtance, as Polybius, an almoſt contemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and ſuch as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuſe our conſent to the united authority of Greek and Roman hiſtorians, in regard to circumſtances, of which whole armies were witneſſes, in experiencing the effects, and which had ſo great an influence in the events of war? What paſſed in this ſiege of Syracuſe, ſhows how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in beſieging and ſupporting ſieges. Our artillery which ſo perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have ſo much.

A burning-glaſs is ſpoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is ſaid to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That muſt have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glaſſes were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed ſeem impracticable.

After

* *In pace, ut ſapiens, aptarit idonea bello.* HORAT.
And wiſe in peace, prepared the arms of war.

[t] After Marcellus had reſolved to confine himſelf to the blockade of Syracuſe, he left Appius before the place with two-thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the iſland, and brought over ſome cities to the Roman intereſt.

At the ſame time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuſe with ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe to join him, and carry on the war in concert againſt Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two ſtates appeared at the ſame time on the coaſt of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, ſeeing itſelf weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and ſoon ſailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuſe with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his conſulſhip expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which muſt have been the ſecond year of the ſiege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this ſecond year, becauſe he had aſcribed to the firſt what paſſed in the ſecond. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it.

This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, profeſſor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais who publiſhed a new edition of Livy with remarks, and with which I am convinced the publick were well pleaſed. The firſt volume of the ſaid work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the ſecond year of the ſiege in ſeveral expeditions into Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an effectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thouſand men. This advantage kept thoſe in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of

[t] A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. xxiv. n. 35, 36.

of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned againſt Syracuſe, and having diſmiſſed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the conſulſhip, he put Criſpinus into his place.

[u] In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almoſt abſolutely deſpairing of being able to take Syracuſe, either by force, becauſe Archimedes continually oppoſed him with invincible obſtacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, eaſily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he ſhould continue before Syracuſe to puſh the ſiege, or turn his endeavours againſt Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe by ſome ſecret intelligence. There were many Syracuſans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A ſlave of one of theſe ſecretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourſcore of the principal perſons of the city engaged, who came in companies to conſult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fiſhermen. The conſpiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a perſon named Attalus, in reſentment for not having been admitted into it, diſcovered the whole to Epicydes who put all the conſpirators to death.

This enterpriſe having miſcarried in this manner, Marcellus found himſelf in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and ſhame of raiſing a ſiege, after having conſumed ſo much time and ſuſtained the loſs of ſo many men and ſhips in it. An accident ſupplied him with a reſource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman veſſels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had ſent to negociate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracuſans expreſſed a great deſire to ranſom this man, and Marcellus was not averſe to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the

[u] A. M. 3792 Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. xxv. n. 23, 31. Plut. in Marcel. 308, 309.

the conferences concerning the ranſom of the priſoner. As the deputies went thither ſeveral times, it came into a Roman ſoldier's thoughts to conſider the wall with attention. After having counted the ſtones, and examined with his eye the meaſure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded that with ladders of a moderate ſize it might be eaſily ſcaled. Without loſs of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wiſe man in an army; a private ſoldier may ſometimes furniſh him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and aſſured himſelf of its reality with his own eyes. Having cauſed ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a feſtival, that the Syracuſans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themſelves up intirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracuſans, after their debauch began to grow drowſy and fall aſleep, he made a thouſand choſen troops, in profound ſilence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the firſt got to the top without noiſe or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldneſs and ſucceſs of their leaders. Theſe thouſand ſoldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's ſtillneſs, who were either drunk or aſleep, ſoon ſcaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum they took poſſeſſion of the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracuſans, awakened by the noiſe, began to rouſe, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets ſound together, which ſo frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. The ſtrongeſt and beſt part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, becauſe ſeparated by its walls from the reſt of the city.

Marcellus

Marcellus at day break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes having immediately drawn up ſome troops, which he had in the iſland adjoining to Achradina, marched againſt Marcellus: but finding him ſtronger and better attended than he expected, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, he ſhut himſelf up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary ſucceſs. For himſelf, when he had conſidered from an eminence the loftineſs, beauty, and extent of that city, he is ſaid to have ſhed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been ſunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illuſtrious generals who commanded them: the many wars ſuſtained with ſo much valour againſt the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whoſe memory was ſtill recent, who had ſignalized himſelf by ſo many royal virtues, and ſtill more, by the important ſervices he had rendered the Roman people, whoſe intereſts had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to ſend to the beſieged to exhort them to ſurrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonſtrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Eurylaus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land ſide. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts againſt Achradina.

During theſe tranſactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The firſt with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and giving the ſignal to thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of

* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis, and in the latter times had been taken into the city and ſurrounded with walls.

Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Criſpinus commanded: Epicydes, at the ſame time made a ſally upon the poſts of Marcellus. Neither of theſe enterpriſes was ſucceſsful. Hippocrates was vigorouſly repulſed by Criſpinus, who purſued him as far as his entrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to ſhut himſelf up in Achradina. As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and ſtill more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The diſtemper was not exceſſive at firſt, and proceeded only from the bad air and ſeaſon: But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, diſperſed the contagion; from whence it happened, that ſome, neglected and abſolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help which became fatal to thoſe who brought it. Death, and the ſight of ſuch as were buried, continually preſented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing were heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length the being accuſtomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to ſuch a degree, and ſo far extinguiſhed all ſenſe of compaſſion in them, that they not only ceaſed to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be ſeen every where but dead bodies, expoſed to the view of thoſe who expected the ſame fate. The Carthaginians ſuffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almoſt all periſhed with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the diſeaſe, had brought his ſoldiers into the city, where the roofs and ſhade was of great relief to them; he loſt no inconſiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithſtanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a ſecond voyage to Carthage to bring a new ſupply, returned with an hundred and thirty ſhips and ſeven hundred tranſports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachymus. Epicydes, who was afraid

that

that if thoſe winds continued, this fleet might be diſcouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops and went to Bomilcar, whom he perſuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, ſeeing the troops of the Sicilians increaſe every day, and that if he ſtayed, and ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up in Syracuſe he ſhould be very much preſſed at the ſame time both by ſea and land, reſolved, though not ſo ſtrong in ſhips, to oppoſe the paſſage of the Carthaginian fleet. As ſoon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar ſtood to ſea in order to double the cape: But when he ſaw the Roman ſhips advance towards him in good order, on a ſudden, for what reaſon is not ſaid, he took to flight, ſent orders to the tranſports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been diſappointed in ſuch great hopes, and was apprehenſive of returning into a city already half taken, made ſail for Agrigentum, rather with deſign to wait the event of the ſiege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epycides had quitted Syracuſe, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they ſent deputies to Marcellus, after having ſounded the diſpoſition of the beſieged to treat upon the conditions Syracuſe ſhould ſurrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both ſides, that what had appertained to the kings ſhould appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians ſhould retain all the reſt with their laws and liberty. After theſe preliminaries they demanded a conference with thoſe Epicydes had charged with the government in his abſence. They told them, they had been ſent by the army to Marcellus, and the inhabitants of Syracuſe, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city might have the ſame fate, and that no ſeparate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them aſſu-

rances that their lives would be ſafe they perſuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having aſſembled the people, they repreſented, " That for whatever miſeries they had " ſuffered till then, or ſhould ſuffer from thenceforth " they ought not to accuſe fortune, as it depended " upon themſelves alone to put an end to them: " that if the Romans had undertaken the ſiege of " Syracuſe, it was out of affection not enmity to the " Syracuſans: that it was not till after they had " been appriſed of the oppreſſions they ſuffered from " Hippocrates and Epicydes, thoſe ambitious agents " of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that " they had taken arms and begun the ſiege of the city " not to ruin it, but to deſtroy its tyrants: that " as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in " Syracuſe, his lieutenants ſlain, and the Carthaginians diſpoſſeſſed of Sicily, both by ſea and " land, what reaſon could the Romans now have " for not inclining as much to preſerve Syracuſe, as " if Hiero, the ſole example of faith to them, were " ſtill alive? That neither the city nor the inhabi- " tants had any thing to fear but from themſelves, " if they let ſlip the occaſion of renewing their amity " with the Romans: that they never had ſo favour- " able an opportunity as the preſent, when they were " juſt delivered from the violent government of their " tyrants; and that the firſt uſe they ought to make " of their liberty, was to return to their duty."

This diſcourſe was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magiſtrates before the nomination of deputies; the latter of whom were choſen out of the former. The deputy who ſpoke in their name, and who was inſtructed ſolely to uſe his utmoſt endeavours that Syracuſe might not be deſtroyed, addreſſed himſelf to Marcellus to this effect: " It was not the people

" of

" of Syracuſe who firſt broke the alliance, and de-
" clared war againſt you, but Hieronymus, leſs cri-
" minal ſtill to Rome than to his country: and
" afterwards, when the peace was reſtored by his
" death, it was not any Syracuſan that infringed it,
" but the tyrant's inſtruments, Hippocrates and Epi-
" cydes. They were the enemies who have made
" war againſt you, after having made us ſlaves, either
" by violence or fraud and perfidy; and it cannot
" be ſaid that we have had any times of liberty that
" have not alſo been times of peace with you. At
" preſent, as ſoon as we are become maſters of our-
" ſelves by the death of thoſe who held Sicily in
" ſubjection, we come the very inſtant to deliver up
" to you our arms, our perſons, our walls and our
" city, determined not to refuſe any conditions you
" ſhall thing fit to impoſe. For the reſt," continued
he, addreſſing himſelf always to Marcellus, " your
" intereſt is as much concerned as ours. The gods
" have granted you the glory of having taken the
" fineſt and moſt illuſtrious city poſſeſſed by the
" Greeks. All we have ever atchieved of memorable,
" either by ſea or land, augments and adorns your
" triumph. Fame is not a ſufficiently faithful
" chronicler to make known the greatneſs and
" ſtrength of the city you have taken; poſterity can
" only judge of them by its own eyes. It is neceſ-
" ſary that we ſhould ſhow to all travellers, from
" whatever part of the univerſe they come, ſome-
" times the trophies we have obtained from the
" Athenians and Carthaginians, and ſometimes thoſe
" you have acquired from us; and that Syracuſe,
" thus placed for ever under the protection of Mar-
" cellus, may be a laſting, and eternal monument of
" the valour and clemency of him, who took and
" preſerved it. It is unjuſt that the remembrance
" of Hieronymus ſhould have more weight with you
" than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer
" your friend than the former your enemy. Permit
" me to ſay you have experienced the amity of Hiero;

" but

" but the ſenſeleſs enterpriſes of Hieronymus have " fallen ſolely upon his own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preſerve tranquillity and union amongſt thoſe in the city. The deſerters, convinced that they ſhould be delivered up to the Romans, inſpired the foreign ſoldiers with the ſame fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilſt the deputies were ſtill in the camp of Marcellus, they began, by cutting the throats of the magiſtrates newly elected; and diſperſing themſelves on all ſides, they put all to the ſword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed ſix officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the iſle. The tumult being at length appeaſed, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans, that their cauſe ſhould be entirely diſtinct from that of the deſerters. At the ſame inſtant, the deputies ſent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongſt thoſe who commanded in Syracuſe, there was a Spaniard named Mericus: him means were found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethuſa to ſoldiers, ſent by Marcellus in the night to take poſſeſſion of it. At day break the next morning, Marcellus made a falſe attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the iſle adjoining to it, to that ſide, and to facilitate the throwing ſome troops into the iſle, which would be unguarded, by ſome veſſels he had prepared. Every thing ſucceeded according to his plan. The ſoldiers, whom thoſe veſſels had landed in the iſle, finding almoſt all the poſts abandoned, and the gates by which the garriſon of the citadel had marched out againſt Marcellus ſtill open, they took poſſeſſion of them after a ſlight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was maſter of the iſle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under

under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, that the treaſures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not riſe ſo high in their amount as was imagined.

The deſerters having eſcaped, a paſſage being expreſsly left open for them, the Syracuſans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and ſent deputies to him with inſtructions to demand nothing farther from him, than the preſervation of the lives of themſelves and their children. Marcellus having aſſembled his council, and ſome Syracuſans who were in his camp, gave his anſwer to the deputies in their preſence: "That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the "Roman people more good, than thoſe who had "been maſters of Syracuſe ſome years paſt, had intended to do them harm; but that their ill-will "had fallen upon their own heads, and they had "puniſhed themſelves for their violation of treaties "in a more ſevere manner than the Romans could "have deſired: that he had beſieged Syracuſe during "three years, not that the Roman people might reduce it into ſlavery, but to prevent the chiefs of "the revolters from continuing it under oppreſſion: "that he had undergone many fatigues and dangers "in ſo long a ſiege: but that he thought he had "made himſelf ample amends by the glory of having taken that city, and the ſatisfaction of having "ſaved it from the entire ruin it ſeemed to deſerve." After having placed a guard upon the treaſury, and ſafe-guards in the houſes of the Syracuſans, who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuſe at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itſelf.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very ſenſible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confuſion at Syracuſe, ſhut up in his cloſet like a man

of

of another world, who had no regard for what paſſed in this, was intent upon the ſtudy of ſome geometrical figures, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his ſoul, were ſo engaged in this contemplation, that he neither heard the tumult of the Romans, univerſally buſy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A ſoldier on a ſudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes deſired him to ſtay a moment, till he had ſolved his problem and finiſhed the demonſtration of it. The ſoldier, who regarded neither his problem nor demonſtration, enraged at this delay, drew his ſword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to reſtore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himſelf to honour his memory to the utmoſt of his power. He made a diligent ſearch after all his relations, treated them with great diſtinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he cauſed his funeral to be celebrated in the moſt ſolemn manner, and erected him a monument amongſt the great perſons who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt at Syracuſe.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. *Tomb of Archimedes diſcovered by Cicero.*

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had deſired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumſcribed by a ſphere; that is to ſay, a globe or ſpherical figure; and to ſet down at the bottom the relation thoſe two ſolids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the baſes of the columns of his tomb with relievoes, whereon the whole hiſtory of the ſiege of Syracuſe might

might have been carved, and himſelf appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he ſet an infinitely higher value upon a diſcovery, a geometrical demonſtration, than upon all the ſo much celebrated machines of his invention.

Hence he choſe rather to do himſelf honour with poſterity, by the diſcovery he had made of the relation of a ſphere to a cylinder of the ſame baſe and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracuſans, who had been in former times ſo fond of the ſciences, did not long retain the eſteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done ſo much honour to their city. Leſs than an hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was ſo perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithſtanding the great ſervices he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuſe. It is from Cicero we have this circumſtance.

[a] At the time he was quæſtor in Sicily, his curioſity induced him to make a ſearch after the tomb of Archimedes; a curioſity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracuſans aſſured him, that his ſearch would be to no purpoſe, and that there was no ſuch monument amongſt them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only ſerved to increaſe his deſire of making that diſcovery. At length, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, he perceived without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongſt a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almoſt intirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could diſcern the figure of a ſphere and cylinder. Thoſe, who have any taſte for antiquities, may eaſily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occaſion. He cried out, * "that he found what he had looked for." The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they ſaw the inſcription ſtill legible, though

[a] Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. v. n. 64. 66.
* Ευρηκα in verb. Archim.

part of the lines were obliterated by time. * So that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greateſt city of Greece, and the moſt flouriſhing of old in the ſtudies of ſcience, would not have known the treaſure it poſſeſſed, if a man, born in a country it conſidered almoſt as barbarous, had not diſcovered for it the tomb of its citizen, ſo highly diſtinguiſhed by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot eaſily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he ſpeaks at firſt of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionyſius the tyrant with the felicity of one paſſed in ſober virtue, and abounding with wiſdom, he ſays† "I will not compare the lives of a Plato or "an Architas, perſons of conſummate learning and "wiſdom, with that of Dionyſius, the moſt horrid, "the moſt miſerable, and the moſt deteſtable that "can be imagined. I ſhould have recourſe to a "man of his own city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, "who lived many years after him. I ſhould produce "him from his ‡ duſt, and bring him upon the "ſtage with his rule and compaſſes in his hand." Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whoſe greatneſs was of a different claſs, the greateſt geometrician of antiquity, whoſe ſublime diſcoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, ſhould Cicero have treated this man as little and obſcure as a common artificer employed in making machines? unleſs it be, perhaps, becauſe the Romans, with whom a taſte for geometry and ſuch ſpeculative ſciences never gained much ground, eſteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

Orabunt

* *Ita nobiliſſima Græciæ civitas, quondum vero etiam doctiſſima, ſui civis unius acutiſſimi monumentum ignoraſſet, niſi ab homine Arpinate didiciſſet.*

† *Non ergo jam cum hujus vitâ, qua tetrius, miſerius, deteſtabilius excogitare nihil poſſum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & planè ſapientum. Ex eadem urbe* HUMILEM HOMUNCIONEM *à pulvere & radio excitabo, qui multis annis poſt fuit, Archimedem.*

‡ He means the duſt uſed by geometricians.

Orabunt causas melius, cælique meatus
Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
VIRGIL, Æn. 6.

Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend and when they rise;
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with aweful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
Disposing peace and war, thy own majestic way.
DRYDEN.

[b] This is the Abbé Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECT. II. *Summary of the history of Syracuse.*

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called Græcia Major, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all these countries by its colonies.

[c] Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Achitas the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

The first two ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government;

[b] Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. II. [c] A. M. 3242.

ment; till Syracuſe is at length ſubjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all theſe events, except the laſt, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different ſections, and diſperſed into different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their ſeries and connection might be the more evident, from their being ſhown together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

[d] GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilſt that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greace; Gelon, who had made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Hiſtorians ſpeak differently of his death, which has occaſioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one ſide I ſuppoſe with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I ſay, after Herodotus, that to avoid the ſhame of ſurviving his defeat, he threw himſelf into the pile, in which he had ſacrificed human victims.

[e] Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the aſſembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was choſen king unanimouſly. He reigned five or ſix years ſolely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. p. 312, &c. Vol. III. p. 389, &c.

[f] HIERO I. Hiero, the eldeſt ſon of Gelon's brother, ſucceeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praiſe. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other.

The

[d] A. M. 3520. [e] A. M. 3525. [f] A. M. 3532.

* In the hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

The latter part of it did not anſwer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III. p. 79, &c.

[g] THRASIBULUS. Thraſibulus his brother ſucceeded him. He rendered himſelf odious to all his ſubjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III. p. 402.

Times of liberty.

[h] After this expulſion, Syracuſe and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the ſpace of almoſt ſixty years. An annual feſtival was inſtituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-eſtabliſhed.

Syracuſe attacked by the Athenians.

[i] During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warn exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms againſt Syracuſe; this was in the ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be ſeen, Vol. III. p. 183.

[k] DIONYSIUS *the elder.* The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and ſtill more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. p. 316, &c. Vol. V. p. 4, &c.

[l] Dionyſius *the younger.* Dionyſius, ſon of the elder Dionyſius, ſucceeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent converſations with him; who comes to his court at the requeſt of Dion, the near relation of Dionyſius. He did not long improve from the wiſe precepts of that philoſopher, and ſoon abandoned himſelf to all the vices and exceſſes which attend tyranny.

[m] Beſieged by Dion, he eſcaped from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

Dion's

[g] A. M. 3543. [h] A. M. 3524. [i] A. M. 3588. [k] A. M. 3598. [l] A. M. 3632. [m] A. M. 3644.

[n] Dion's excellent qualities. He is aſſaſſinated in his own houſe by Callippus.

[o] Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionyſius the younger, expels Callippus, and eſtabliſhes himſelf in Syracuſe. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

[p] Dionyſius the younger taking advantage of thoſe troubles, re-aſcends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

[q] At laſt, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Vol. I. p. 324, &c. Vol. V. p. 54.

Times of liberty.

[r] Timoleon reſtores liberty to Syracuſe. He paſſes the reſt of his life in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and ſtrangers. Vol. V. p. 113, &c.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

[s] AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a ſhort time, makes himſelf tyrant of Syracuſe. Vol. I. p. 328, &c.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldeſt deſigns related in hiſtory; carries the war into Africa; makes himſelf maſter of the ſtrongeſt places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he periſhes miſerably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times of liberty.

[t] Syracuſe took new life again for ſome time, and taſted with joy the ſweets of liberty.

But ſhe ſuffered much from the Carthaginians, who diſturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid ſucceſs of his arms, at firſt gave him great hopes, which ſoon

[n] A. M. 3646. [o] A. M. 3647. [p] A. M. 3654. [q] A. M. 3657. [r] A. M. 3658. [s] A. M. 3685. [t] A. M. 3713.

ſoon vaniſhed. Pyrrhus, by a ſudden retreat, plunged the Syracuſans into new misfortunes. Vol I. p. 341, &c. Vol. V. p. 225, &c.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almoſt always pacific.

HIERONYMUS. He ſcarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuſe by Marcellus.

After that period, what paſſed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were ſtill ſome remains of war fomented in it by the partiſans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who ſupported them: But thoſe wars had no conſequence, and Rome was ſoon abſolute miſtreſs of all Sicily. Half the iſland had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the firſt Punic war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the poſſeſſion of the Romans; and the other under the government of Hiero; which laſt part, after the ſurrender of Syracuſe, fell alſo into their hands.

SECT. III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracuſans, and upon Archimedes.*

BY the taking of Syracuſe all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was impoſed as the reward of the victory, and puniſhments of the vanquiſhed: *Quaſi victoriæ premium, ac pœna belli.* Sicily, in ſubmitting to the * Roman people, retained all her ancient rights and cuſtoms, obeyed them upon the ſame conditions ſhe had obeyed her kings. And ſhe certainly well deſerved that privilege and diſtinction.

* *Siciliæ civitates ſic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure, eſſent, quo fuiſſent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent quâ ſuis antèa paruiſſent.* Cic.

tion. * She was the firſt of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the firſt conqueſt their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the firſt country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greateſt part of the Sicilian cities had expreſſed an unexampled attachment fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The iſland was afterwards a kind of paſs for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not ſo eaſily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not ſerved it as a magazine, abounding with proviſions, and a ſecure retreat for their fleets. Hence after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himſelf obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious ſtatues; in order that a people who were ſo highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of the Roman arms, might be ſenſible of its effects, and retain illuſtrious monuments of their victories amongſt them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her ſuch magiſtrates as Cicero, knowing like him in the obligations of his function, and like him intent upon the due diſcharge of it. It is highly pleaſing to hear him explain himſelf upon the ſubject; which he does in his defence of Sicily againſt Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witneſſes of the ſincerity of what he is going to expoſe, he ſays: "In all † the employments with which the Roman people

* *Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia ſe ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii eſt, provincia eſt appellata: prima docuit majores noſtros, quam præclarum eſſet exteris gentibus imperare—Itaque majoribus noſtris in Africam ex hac provinciâ gradus imperii factus eſt. Neque enim tam facilè opes Carthaginis tantæ concidiſſent, niſi illud, & ei frumentariæ ſubſidium, & receptaculum claſſibus noſtris pateret. Quarè P. Africanus, Carthagine deletâ, Siculorum urbes ſignis monumentiſque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret.* Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.

† *O dii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem ſpemque reliquæ vitæ veſtra*

" people have honoured me to this day. I have ever " thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of " religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. " When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that " dignity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for " my particular use, but as a deposit confided to " my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards " sent to act in that office, I thought all eyes were " turned upon me, and that my person and admini- " stration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle " to the view of all the world; and in this thought " I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extra- " ordinary kind, but even those which are authorised " by nature and necessity. I am now intended for " ædile. I call the gods to witness, that how " honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I " have too just a sense of its weight, not to have " more solicitude and disquiet, than joy and plea- " sure from it; so much I desire to make it ap- " pear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, " or the necessity of being filled up, but confided " deservedly by the choice and discernment of my " country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as * Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres,

populique R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me unum conjectos arbitrarer: ut me quæsturamque meam, quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis —Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis & laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit rectè collocata, & judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur. Cic. Verr. 7. n. 35—37.

* *Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces & secures, & tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi & auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, & officii*

Verres, that they were almoſt all of them like ſo many tyrants, who believed themſelves only attended by the faſces and axes, and inveſted with the authority of the Roman empire, to exerciſe in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of juſtice and ſhame in ſuch a manner, that no man's eſtate, life, houſe, or even honour, were ſafe from their violence.

Syracuſe, from all we have ſeen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and ſurpriſing ſcenes have been exhibited; or rather like a ſea, ſometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and ſtorms, always ready to overwhelm it intirely. We have ſeen in no other republic ſuch ſudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: ſometimes enſlaved by the moſt cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wiſeſt kings; ſometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or reſtriction; ſometimes perfectly docile and ſubmiſſive to the authority of the law, and the empire of reaſon, it paſſed alternately from the moſt inſupportable ſlavery to the moſt grateful liberty, from a kind of convulſions and frantic emotions, to a wiſe, peaceable and regular conduct. The reader will eaſily call to mind, on the one ſide, Dionyſius the father and ſon, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whoſe cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and deteſtation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieroes, ancient and modern, univerſally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are ſuch oppoſite extremes and viciſſitudes ſo contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconſtancy of the Syracuſans, which was their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, had a great ſhare

perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clauſa, nullius vita ſepta, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam poſſet eſſe. Cic. Verr. n. 39.

ſhare in them; but what I am convinced conduced the moſt to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the ariſtocratic and democratic, that is to ſay, divided between the ſenate or elders and the people. As there was no counterpoiſe in Syracuſe to ſupport a right balance between thoſe two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one ſide or the other, the government preſently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The ſudden confuſion at ſuch times of all orders of the ſtate, made the way to the ſovereign power eaſy to the moſt ambitious of the citizens: to attract the affection of their country, and ſoften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, ſome exerciſed that power with lenity, wiſdom, equity, and popular behaviour: and others, by nature leſs virtuouſly inclined, carried it to the laſt exceſs of the moſt abſolute and cruel deſpotiſm, under pretext of ſupporting themſelves againſt the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were beſides other reaſons that rendered the government of Syracuſe difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the ſignal victories it had obtained againſt the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage: and that not once only, as afterwards againſt the Athenians, but during ſeveral ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops ſuggeſted of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Perſians into Greece, occaſioned its pretending to equal Athens in that reſpect, or at leaſt to divide the empire of the ſea with that ſtate.

Beſides which, riches the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracuſans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the ſame time had plunged them

them into a ſloth and luxury, that inſpired them with a diſguſt for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themſelves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an abſolute aſcendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was neceſſary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good-nature; and yet, when influenced by the ſeditious diſcourſes of the orators, they would proceed to exceſſive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themſelves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, ſoon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might ſay, even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were ſubjected to the yoke, they became baſe, timorous, ſubmiſſive, and creeping like ſlaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and diſpoſition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the ſenſe of which was not wholly extinguiſhed in them and only lulled aſleep; they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made uſe of them, if I may be admitted to uſe the expreſſion, to beat down and deſtroy the unjuſt maſters who had impoſed them.

With a ſmall attention to the whole ſeries of the hiſtory of the Syracuſans, it may eaſily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards ſaid of the Romans) that * they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire ſervitude. So that the ability and policy of thoſe who governed them, conſiſted in keeping the people to a wiſe medium between thoſe two extremes, by ſeeming to leave them an entire freedom in their reſolutions, and reſerving only to themſelves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good meaſures. And in this the magiſtrates and kings

* *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.* TACIT. Hiſt. l. i. c. 16.

kings we have ſpoken of were wonderfully ſucceſsful, under whoſe government the Syracuſans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly ſubmiſſive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuſe were leſs the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of thoſe that governed them, who had not the art of managing their paſſions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the ſcience of kings, and of all who command others.

BOOK THE TWENTY-SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF PONTUS.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *Mithridates, at twelve years old, aſcends the throne of Pontus. He ſeizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having firſt expelled their kings. The Romans re-eſtabliſh them. He cauſes all the Romans in Aſia Minor to be put to the ſword in one day. Firſt war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himſelf maſter of Aſia Minor and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He beſieges and re-takes Athens. He gains three great battles againſt the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Ariſtotle, Sylla cauſes it to be carried to Rome.*

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whoſe hiſtory we are now beginning, and who rendered himſelf ſo famous by the war he ſupported, during almoſt thirty years, againſt the Romans, was ſurnamed Eupator. He deſcended from a houſe which had long given a ſucceſſion of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The firſt, according to ſome hiſtorians, was Artabaſus, one of the ſeven princes that ſlew the Magi, and ſet the crown of Perſia upon the head of Darius Hyſtaſpes, who

who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But beſides that we do not find the name of Artabaſus amongſt thoſe Perſians, many reaſons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we ſpeak, was the ſon of Darius the ſame who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Perſia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to conſole him for the preference given to Xerxes. His poſterity enjoyed that kingdom during ſeventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we ſhall treat in this place, was the ſixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his ſucceſſor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him, [x] He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the ſequel anſwered but too well to ſuch a beginning of it. [y] Nothing is ſaid of the firſt years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having ſurrendered, and put him into poſſeſſion of Phrygia, it was ſoon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

[z] Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates cauſed the two ſons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own ſiſter, and placed one of his own ſons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increaſe of power would put Mithridates into a condition to poſſeſs himſelf alſo of his dominions in time, thought proper to ſet up a certain young man (who ſeemed very fit for ſuch a part) as a third ſon of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice whom he had eſpouſed after the death of her firſt huſband; to acknowledge him as ſuch, and ſent her to

[x] A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Memnon in excerptis, Photii. c. xxxii.
[y] Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178. [z] A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of his pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned, and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power, daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. [a] Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces*, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobasus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy, for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation

[a] A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90. * This was Mithridates II.

tion of his ſtrength, and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. [b] Armenia had at firſt appertained to the Perſians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres with that prince's permiſſion, eſtabliſhed themſelves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now ſpeak, deſcended from Artaxius. He poſſeſſed himſelf of all Armenia, ſubjected ſeveral neighbouring counties by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter ſo far into his project againſt the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates ſhould have the cities and countries they ſhould conquer for his ſhare, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

Their firſt enterpriſe and act of hoſtility was committed by Tigranes, [c] who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into poſſeſſion, and re-eſtabliſhed Ariarathes, the ſon of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time: his eldeſt ſon, called alſo Nicomedes, ought naturally to have ſucceeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates ſet up his younger brother Socrates againſt him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate, who decreed their re-eſtabliſhment, and ſent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both re-inſtated. The Romans adviſed them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates,

[b] Strab. l. xi. p. 531, 532.

[c] A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

dates, promiſing them their ſupport; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack ſo powerful a prince ſo near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint inſtances of the ambaſſadors, to whom he had promiſed great ſums for his re-eſtabliſhment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens ſettled in Aſia, who had lent him very conſiderably for the ſame effects, could no longer reſiſt their ſolicitations. He made incurſions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amaſtris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in diſcharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whoſe advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might eaſily have repulſed him, having a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the ſide of the Romans, and to have a juſt cauſe for declaring war againſt them. He began by making remonſtrances to their generals and ambaſſadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embaſſy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance ſubſiſting between them and Mithridates, and in particular of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambaſſadors of the latter replied with complaints on their ſide of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themſelves openly at preſent, gave them an anſwer in looſe and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes ſhould injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and ſet his ſon Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the ſame time, he ſent his ambaſſador to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his maſter was contented the Roman people ſhould judge

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in the affair, and added, that he had already ſent his ambaſſadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the ſenate's orders; nor engage raſhly in a war, that might be attended with fatal conſequences. For the reſt, he gave them to underſtand, that Mithridates, in caſe juſtice were refuſed him, was in a condition to right himſelf. The Romans, highly offended at ſo haughty a declaration, made anſwer, that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to diſturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unleſs his maſter obeyed. The other ambaſſadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the ſenate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The deſign he had long formed of declaring war againſt the Romans had occaſioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his intereſts. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned amongſt his troops, all which Mithridates himſelf ſpoke with facility. His army conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ſhips.

[f] Before he proceeded to action, he thought it neceſſary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a * long diſcourſe to animate them againſt the Romans. He repreſented to them, "That there was "no room for examining whether war or peace were "to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking "them firſt, had ſpared them that inquiry: that

[f] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3—7.

* I have abridged this diſcourſe extremely, which Juſtin repeats at length, as it ſtood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiſer. The diſcourſe is a ſpecimen of that excellent hiſtorian's ſtile, and ought to make us very much regret the loſs of his writings.

" their buſinneſs was to fight and conquer: that he " aſſured himſelf of ſucceſs, if the troops perſiſted " to act with the ſame valour they had already ſhown " upon ſo many occaſions, and lately againſt the " ſame enemies, whom they had put to flight, and " cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia: that " there could not be a more favourable opportunity " than the preſent, when the Marſi infeſted and ra- " vaged the heart itſelf of Italy; when Rome was " torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable " army of the Cimbri from Germany overran all " Italy: that the time was come for humbling thoſe " proud Republicans, who had the ſame view with " regard to the royal dignity, and had ſworn to pull " down all the thrones of the univerſe: that for " the reſt *, the war his ſoldiers were now entering " upon was highly different from that they had ſuſ- " tained with ſo much valour in the horrid deſerts, " and frozen regions of Scythia: that he ſhould " lead them into the moſt fruitful and temperate " country of the world, abounding with rich and " opulent cities, which ſeemed to offer themſelves an " eaſy prey: that Aſia, abandoned to be devoured " by the inſatiable avarice of the proconſuls, the in- " exorable cruelty of tax-farmers, and the crying " injuſtice of corrupt judges, had the name of Ro- " man in horror, and impatiently expected them as " her deliverers: that they followed him not ſo " much to a war as to aſſured victory and certain " ſpoils."

* *Nunc ſe diverſam belli conditionem engredi. Nam neque cœlo Aſiæ eſſe temperatius aliud, nec ſolo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, ſed ut feſtam diem, acturos, bellu dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque ſe avida expectat Aſia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incuſſit rapacitas proconſulum, ſectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.* Juſtin——*Sectio publicanorum* in this paſſage property ſignifies the forcible ſale of the goods of thoſe who for default of payment of taxes and impoſts, had their eſtates and effects ſeiſed on and ſold by the publicans. *Calumniæ litium* are the unjuſt quirks and chicanery which ſerved as pretexts for depriving the rich of their eſtates, either upon account of taxes, or under ſome other colour.

" ſpoils." The army anſwered this diſcourſe with univerſal ſhouts of joy, and re-iterated proteſtation of ſervice and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the ſeveral parts of Aſia Minor. The firſt was commanded by Caſſius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the ſecond by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius, proconſul in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thouſand men, including the cavalry. Beſides theſe troops, Nicomedes had fifty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe. They began the war, as I have already obſerved, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with ſo much negligence and ſo little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occaſions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themſelves were taken priſoners, and treated with all kinds of inſults. Mithridates, conſidering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the higheſt indignities. He made him paſs in review before the troops, and preſented him as a ſight to the people mounted on an aſs, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands faſtened by a chain to a horſe, that drew him along. At laſt he made him ſwallow molten lead, and put him to death with the moſt exquiſite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherouſly delivered him up to Mithridates at a time when he was ſick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

[g] Mithridates, who was deſirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, ſent home all the Greeks he had taken priſoners, and ſupplied them with proviſions for their journey. That inſtance of his goodneſs and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet

[g] Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 461. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. to Flacco. n. 60.

meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him exceſſive praiſes, called him the preſerver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Aſia, with all the other names aſcribed to Bacchus, to which he had a juſt title, for he paſſed for the prince of his times, [h] who could drink moſt without being diſordered; a quality he valued himſelf upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his firſt victories were the conqueſt of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Myſia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and ſeveral other countries.

Having found at Stratonice a young maid of exquiſite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

[i] Mithridates, conſidering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Aſia Minor upon different affairs, carried on ſecret intrigues much to the prejudice of his intereſts, he ſent private orders from Epheſus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magiſtrates of the cities of Aſia Minor, to maſſacre them all upon a day fixed*. The women, children, and domeſtics, were included in this proſcription. To theſe orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to thoſe who ſhould be killed. Their eſtates and effects were to be confiſcated for the uſe of the king and the murderers. A ſevere fine was laid upon ſuch as ſhould conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever diſcovered thoſe that were hid. Liberty was given to the ſlaves who killed their maſters; and debtors forgiving half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order is enough to make one

[h] Plut. Sympoſ. l. i. p. 624. [i] A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

* *Is uno die, tota Aſia, tot in civitatibus uno nuntio, atque una literarum ſignificatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandoſque denotavit.* Cic.

one tremble with horror. What then muſt have been the deſolation in all thoſe provinces when it was put in execution! Fourſcore thouſand Romans and Italians were butchered in conſequence of it. Some make the ſlain amount to almoſt twice that number.

[k] Being informed that there was a great treaſure at Cos, he ſent people thither to ſeiſe it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had depoſited it there, when ſhe undertook the war in Phœnicia againſt her ſon Lathyrus. Beſides this treaſure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thouſand crowns,) which the Jews in Aſia Minor had depoſited, there, when they ſaw the war ready to break out.

[l] All thoſe, who had found means to eſcape this general ſlaughter in Aſia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a ſecure retreat. Mithridates laid ſiege to that city ineffectually, which he was ſoon obliged to raiſe, after having been in danger of being taken himſelf in a ſea-fight, wherein he loſt many of his ſhips.

[m] When he had made himſelf maſter of Aſia Minor, Mithridates ſent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and choſe it for his reſidence, given all orders from thence in regard to the war on that ſide. During his ſtay there, he engaged moſt of the cities and ſtates of Greece in the intereſts of his maſter. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinſtated them in the poſſeſſion of it. He ſent them the ſacred treaſure, kept in that iſland by Ariſtion, to whom he gave two thouſand men as a guard for the money. Ariſtion was an Athenian philoſopher, of the ſect of Epicurus. He employed the two thouſand men under his command to ſeiſe all authority at Athens, where he exerciſed a moſt

[k] Appian. p. 186. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. [l] Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402. [m] Plut. in Sylla, p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.

moſt cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and ſending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

[n] Such was the ſtate of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war againſt Mithridates. He ſet out immediately for Greece with five legions, and ſome cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he diſtributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, ſubjected to the tyrant Ariſtion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppoſe him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he ſent to beſiege Ariſtion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in perſon to the port Pyræus, which was a kind of ſecond city, where Archelaus had ſhut himſelf up, relying upon the ſtrength of the place, the walls being almoſt ſixty feet high, and entirely of hewn ſtone. The work was indeed very ſtrong, and had been raiſed by the order of Pericles in the Peloponneſian war, when the hopes of victory depending ſolely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmoſt of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all ſorts of engines in battering it, and made continual aſſaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without ſtriking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the laſt extremity. But, being in haſte to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his abſence, he ſpaired neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to haſten the concluſion of that war. Without enumerating the reſt of the warlike ſtores and equipage, twenty thouſand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall ſhort, from the great conſumption made of it in the machines, which

[n] A. M. 3917. Ant. J. C. 87.

which were often either broke and ſpoiled by the vaſt weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not ſpare the ſacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the fineſt and beſt planted in the ſuburbs, and cauſed the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demoliſhed, in order to make uſe of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occaſion for abundance of money in this war, and deſired to attach the ſoldiers to his intereſts, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourſe to the inviolable treaſures of the temples, and cauſed the fineſt and moſt precious gifts, conſecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphyctions aſſembled at Delphos, "That they would act wiſely in ſending "him the treaſures of the god, becauſe they would be "more ſecure in his hands; and that if he ſhould be "obliged to make uſe of them, he would return the "value after the war." At the ſame time he ſent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all thoſe treaſures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts conſecrated to him, and wept, in the preſence of the Amphyctions, the neceſſity impoſed upon him. Upon which, ſome perſon there having ſaid, that he heard the ſound of Apollo's lyre from the inſide of the ſanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occaſion to ſtrike Sylla with a religious awe, wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his ſimplicity, replied, "That "he was ſurpriſed he ſhould not comprehend, that "ſinging was a ſign of joy, and by no means of "anger and reſentment; and therefore he had nothing "to do but to take the treaſures boldly, and be aſ-"ſured, that the god ſaw him do ſo with pleaſure, "and gave them to himſelf."

Plutarch, on this occaſion, obſerves upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and thoſe of the times we now ſpeak of. The former, whom merit alone had raiſed to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the ſoldiers reſpect and obey them without deſcending to uſe low and unworthy methods for that purpoſe. They commanded troops that were wiſe, diſciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truely kings, ſays * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their ſentiments, but ſimple and modeſt private perſons in their train and equipage, they put the ſtate to no other expence in the diſcharge of their offices than what was reaſonable and neceſſary, conceiving it more ſhameful in a captain to flatter his ſoldiers than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now ſpeak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to inſatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themſelves ſlaves to their ſoldiers, and to buy their ſervices by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greateſt crimes.

Sylla, in conſequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to ſatisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the ſiege he had engaged in, the ſucceſs of which ſeemed to him of the higheſt importance, both to his honour and ſafety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from paſſing into Aſia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return ſhamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was beſides ſenſibly galled by the offenſive raillery Ariſtion vented every day againſt himſelf and his wife Metella.

It

* Αὐλοι τε ταις ψυχαις βασιλικοι κ ταις δαπανκις ευτελεις ὀντες.

It is not eaſy to ſay whether the attack or defence were conducted with moſt vigour; for both ſides behaved with incredible courage and reſolution. The ſallies were frequent, and attended with almoſt battles in form, in which the ſlaughter was great, and the loſs generally not very unequal. The beſieged would not have been in a condition to have made ſo vigorous a defence, if they had not received ſeveral conſiderable re-inforcements by ſea.

What hurt them moſt was the ſecret treachery of two Athenian ſlaves who were in the Piræus. Thoſe ſlaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or deſirous of providing for their own ſafety, in caſe the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that paſſed within, and threw them with ſlings to the Romans. So that whatever wiſe meaſures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilſt Ariſtion commanded in the city, nothing ſucceeded. He reſolved to make a general ſally; the traitors ſlung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: "To-morrow, at ſuch an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horſe your camp." Sylla laid ambuſhes, and repulſed the beſieged with loſs. A convoy of proviſions was in the night to have been thrown into the city, which was in want of all things. Upon advice of the ſame kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, the Athenians defended themſelves like lions. They found means either to burn moſt of the machines erected againſt the walls, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their ſide, behaved with no leſs vigour. By the help of mines alſo they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground; and, having propt the foundation with beams of wood, they afterwards ſet fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, ſulphur, and tow. When thoſe beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with a horrible noiſe, and a large breach

breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the aſſault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both ſides, but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The beſieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a creſcent, in the place where the other had fallen, and the Romans found it impoſſible to force it.

Sylla, diſcouraged by ſo obſtinate a defence, reſolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himſelf to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other ſide, was at the laſt extremity. A buſhel of barley had been ſold in it for a thouſand drachmas, (about five-and-twenty pounds ſterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the graſs and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the fleſh of horſes, and the leather ſhoes, which they boiled ſoft. In the midſt of the public miſery, the tyrant paſſed his days and nights in debauch. The ſenators and prieſts went to throw themſelves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: He diſperſed them with arrow-ſhot, and in that manner drove them from his preſence.

He did not demand a ceſſation of arms, nor ſend deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the laſt extremity. As thoſe deputies made no propoſals, and aſked nothing of him to the purpoſe, but ran on in praiſing and extolling Theſeus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians againſt the Medes, Sylla was tired with their diſcourſe, and interrupted them, by ſaying "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, "and keep your rhetorical flouriſhes for yourſelves. "For my part, I was not ſent to Athens to be in-"formed of your ancient proweſs, but to chaſtiſe your "modern revolt."

During this audience, ſome ſpies, having entered the city, overheard by chance ſome old men talking of

of the quarter called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might eaſily ſcale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpoſe. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in perſon to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually acceſſible, he ordered ladders to be raiſed againſt it, began the attack there, and, having made himſelf maſter of the wall after a weak reſiſtance, entered the city. He would not ſuffer it to be ſet on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who in ſeveral houſes found human fleſh, which had been dreſſed to be eaten. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued. The next day all the ſlaves were ſold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had eſcaped the ſwords of the ſoldiers, who were a very ſmall number. He beſieged the citadel the ſame day, where Ariſtion, and thoſe who had taken refuge there, were ſoon ſo much reduced by famine, that they were forced to ſurrender themſelves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himſelf maſter of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, eſpecially the arſenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxylus, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia with an army of a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, with fourſcore and ten chariots armed with ſcythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the ſea,

* The public place at Athens.

ſea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their proviſions. This was very wiſe conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; ſo that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortenſius joined him. Their troops being united, they took poſſeſſion of a fertile eminence in the midſt of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could diſcover at a view their ſmall number, which amounted to only fifteen thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe. This induced Archelaus's generals to preſs him in the warmeſt manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his conſent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horſes, chariots, and their innumerable troops; for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noiſe and cries of ſo many nations, and ſo many thouſands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightneſs of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and ſilver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of braſs and ſteel, reflected a kind of rays, which, whilſt it dazzled the ſight, filled the ſoul with terror.

The Romans, ſeiſed with dread, kept cloſe within their entrenchments. Sylla not being able by his diſcourſe and remonſtrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their preſent univerſal diſcouragement, was obliged to lie ſtill and ſuffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and inſulting deriſion of the Barbarians. They conceived ſo great a contempt for him in conſequence, that they neglected to obſerve any diſcipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments; the reſt, for the ſake of plunder, diſperſed in great troops, and removed conſiderably, even ſeveral days journey, from the

the camp. They plundered and ruined ſome cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the laſt deſpair when he ſaw the cities of the allies deſtroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at laſt thought of a ſtratagem, which was to give the troops no repoſe, and to keep them inceſſantly at work in turning the little river Cephiſus, which was near the camp, and in digging deep and large foſſes, under pretence of their better ſecurity, but in effect, that, when they ſhould be tired of ſuch great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His ſtratagem was ſucceſsful. After having worked without intermiſſion three days, as Sylla, according to cuſtom, was taking a view of their progreſs, they cried out to him with one voice to lead them againſt the enemy. Sylla ſuffered himſelf to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for ſome time; but, when he ſaw their ardour increaſe from his oppoſitions, he made them ſtand to their arms, and marched againſt the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves with a great body of troops of a very advantageous poſt, called Thurium: It was the ridge of a ſteep mountain, which extended itſelf upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promiſed him to drive the enemy from this poſt, if he would give them a ſmall number of choſen troops; which he did. In the mean time he drew up in his army in battle, divided his horſe between the two wings, taking the right himſelf, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortenſius formed a ſecond line. Hortenſius, on the left of it, ſupported Murena, whilſt Galba on the right did the ſame for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend their horſe and light-armed foot in a large compaſs, with deſign to ſurround the ſecond line, and charge it in the rear.

At

At that inſtant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their ſmall troop, without being perceived by the enemy, ſhewed themſelves on a ſudden. The Barbarians, ſurpriſed and terrified, immediately took to flight. Preſſing againſt each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down before the enemy, who charged and purſued them down the hill with their ſwords at their backs; ſo that about three thouſand men were killed upon the mountain. Of thoſe who eſcaped, ſome fell into the hands of Murena, who had juſt before formed himſelf in battle. Having marched againſt them, he intercepted and made a great ſlaughter of them: The reſt, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with ſo much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confuſion, and made their generals loſe much time in reſtoring order, which was one of the principal cauſes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this diſorder, marched againſt them with ſo much vigour, and paſſed the ſpace between the two armies with ſuch rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with ſcythes. The force of theſe chariots depended upon the length of their courſe, which gave impetuoſity and violence to their motion; inſtead of which, a ſhort ſpace, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them uſeleſs and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The firſt chariots came on ſo ſlowly, and with ſo little effect, that the Romans, eaſily puſhing them back, with great noiſe and loud laughter called for more, as was cuſtomary at Rome in the chariot races of the Circus.

After thoſe chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The Barbarians preſented their long pikes, and kept cloſe order with their bucklers joined, ſo that they could not be broke; and the Romans threw

threw down their javelins, and with ſword in hand removed the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increaſed their animoſity, was the ſight of fifteen thouſand ſlaves, whom the king's generals had ſpirited from them by the promiſe of their liberty, and poſted them amongſt the heavy-armed foot. Thoſe ſlaves had ſo much reſolution and bravery, that they ſuſtained the ſhock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was ſo deep and ſo well cloſed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the ſecond line had put them into diſorder by the diſcharge of their arrows, and a hail of ſtones from their ſlings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to ſurround the left of the Romans, Hortenſius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus ſeeing, he ordered two thouſand horſe to wheel about. Hortenſius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horſe, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himſelf too far from the main body, and upon the point of being ſurrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, which had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the duſt raiſed by thoſe troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortenſius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he ſhould find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus, at the ſame time led on his foot, armed with brazen ſhields, againſt * Murena; whilſt each ſide raiſed great cries, which made the neighbouring hills reſound. Sylla halted on that noiſe, not knowing well to which ſide he ſhould haſten. At length he thought it moſt expedient to return to his former poſt and ſupport his right wing. He therefore ſent Hortenſius

* Chalcuſpides.

Hortenſius to aſſiſt Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither ſide having the advantage. But, as ſoon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the preſence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and purſued them vigorouſly for a conſiderable time.

After this great ſucceſs, without loſing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him alſo victorious, and that he had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the purſuit of the vanquiſhed. A great number of the Barbarians were killed on the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; ſo that, of many thouſand men, only ten thouſand eſcaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were miſſing, and that two of them returned the ſame evening.

To [o] celebrate ſo great a victory, he gave the Muſic-games at Thebes, and cauſed judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to diſtribute the prizes; for he had an implacable averſion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he conſecrated to Apollo Pythius and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of thoſe gods ſhould be repaid out of their revenues.

Theſe games were no ſooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverſe party (for at this time the diviſions between Marius and Sylla were at the higheſt) had been elected conſul, and had already croſſed the Ionian ſea with an army, in appearance againſt Mithridates, but in reality againſt himſelf. For this reaſon he began his march to Theſſaly, as with deſign to meet him. But being arrived * at the city of Melitea, news came to him from

[o] A. M. 3919. Ant. J. C. 85. * In Theſſaly.

from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Bœotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew that the advice he had given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosses to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and, seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, "For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus." They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops, who had continued in the camp, into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered

entered it pell-mell with thoſe who fled, and made himſelf maſter of it. The marſhes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the dike filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, loſt the greateſt part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marſhes, and eſcaped at laſt to Chalcis.

The news of all theſe defeats threw Mithridates into great conſternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in reſources, he did not loſe courage, and applied himſelf to repair his loſſes by making new levies. But, from the fear that his ill ſucceſs might give birth to ſome revolt or conſpiracy againſt his perſon, as had already happened, he took the bloody precautions of putting all he ſuſpected to death, without ſparing even his beſt friends.

[p] He was not more ſucceſsful in Aſia himſelf than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his beſt troops. He purſued the vanquiſhed as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates reſided, and obliged him to quit that place himſelf, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria purſued him thither, and inveſted him by land. But, as he had no fleet to do the ſame by ſea, he ſent to Lucullus, who cruiſed in the neighbouring ſeas with the Roman fleet, and repreſented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory by ſeiſing the perſon of Mithridates, who could not eſcape him, and by putting an end to ſo important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other; ſo that Mithridates eſcaped by ſea to Mitylene, and extricated himſelf out of the hands of the Romans. This fault coſt them very dear, and is not extraordinary in ſtates where miſunderſtandings ſubſiſt between the miniſters and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, leſt they ſhould contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus

p Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and, during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as he did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journies, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war*. Let your young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner the great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account that his enemies had burnt his house and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in

* *Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usus disciplinam. Itaque cum totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis.* Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 2.

in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the ſame fury.

Sylla was in the greateſt perplexity. On the one ſide, the miſerable condition to which his country was reduced inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not reſolve to leave imperfect ſo great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilſt he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him to treat with him in ſecret from General Archelaus, and to make him ſome propoſals of an accommodation. He was ſo exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commiſſion, that he made all poſſible haſte to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the ſea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla to have it in his power to repaſs into Italy, propoſed to him the uniting his intereſts with thoſe of Mithridates; and added that his maſter would ſupply him with money, troops, and ſhips, for a war againſt the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without ſeeming offended at firſt with ſuch propoſals, exhorted him on his ſide to withdraw himſelf from the ſlavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that propoſal with indignation, and even expreſſed to the Roman general, how much he thought himſelf injured by the ſuppoſition of his being capable of ſuch a treaſon. Upon which Sylla, aſſuming the air of grandeur and dignity ſo natural to the Romans, ſaid to him: "If, being only a ſlave, and at beſt but "an officer of a Barbarian king, you look upon it as a "baſeneſs to quit the ſervice of your maſter, how dared "you propoſe the abandoning the intereſts of the re-"public

" public to such a Roman as me? Do you imagine " our condition and affairs to be equal? Have you " forgot my victories? Do you not remember, that " you are the same Archelaus I have defeated in two " battles, and forced in the last to hide himself in " the marshes of Orchomenus?"

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negociation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: " That Mithridates should renounce Asia " and Paphlagonia: that he should restore Bithynia " to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes: " that should pay the Romans two thousand ta- " lents (about three hundred thousand pounds ster- " ling) for the expences of the war, and seventy " armed gallies, with their whole equipage; and that " Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the " rest of his dominions, and cause him to be declared " the friend and ally of the Roman people." Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions, and dispatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Lariſſa, who came to declare to him that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy gallies, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone: " What say you? " Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia, " and does he refuse me the gallies I demanded? I " expected to have seen him return me thanks upon " his knees, for having only left him the hand with " which he butchered an hundred thousand Romans. " He will change his note when I go over to Asia, " though at present, in the midst of his court at Per-

" gamus,

" gamus, he meditates plans for a war he never ſaw." Such was the lofty ſtile of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to underſtand at the ſame time that he would not talk ſuch language had he been preſent at the paſt battles.

The ambaſſadors, terrified with this anſwer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to ſoften Sylla, and promiſed him that Mithridates ſhould conſent to all the articles. He ſet out for that purpoſe, and Sylla, after having laid waſte the country, returned into Macedonia.

[q] Archelaus upon his return joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him that Mithridates would accept the propoſed conditions; but that he exceedingly deſired to have a conference with him. What made him earneſt for this interview was the fear of Fimbria, who, having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himſelf at the head of that conſul's army, advanced by great marches againſt Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred gallies, twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and a great number of chariots armed with ſcythes: and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horſe in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla aſked him, whether he accepted the propoſed conditions? As the king kept ſilence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for "ſuppliants to ſpeak, and for the victorious to hear "and be ſilent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to aſcribe the cauſe of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a ſecond time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before

[q] A. M. 3920. Ant. J. C. 84.

before him. Mithridates, ſurpriſed at the haughtineſs and ſteady air of the Roman general, having anſwered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces, and afterwards preſenting the kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the ſeventy gallies entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla ſaw plainly that this treaty of peace was highly diſagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the moſt mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had cauſed a hundred thouſand Roman citizens diſperſed in Aſia to be put to the ſword, ſhould be treated with ſo much favour and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almoſt ſtill reeking with their blood. Sylla, to juſtify his conduct, gave them to underſtand, that if he had rejected his propoſals of peace, Mithridates, on his refuſal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if thoſe two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conqueſts, or hazard a battle againſt troops, ſuperior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might deprive him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the firſt war with Mithridates, which had laſted four years, and in which Sylla had deſtroyed more than a hundred and ſixty thouſand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Aſia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had poſſeſſed himſelf; and, having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himſelf within the bounds of his hereditary dominions*. But what

* *Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæ partes Italiam obſiderent, neque illaturum ſe bellum iis diſſimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omiſit; exiſtimavitque ante frangendum hoſtem, quam ulciſcendum civem; repulſoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum eſſet viciſſet, ſeperaret quod erat domeſticum.* Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 2.

is moſt to be admired in Sylla is, that, during three years, whilſt the factions of Marius and Cinna had enſlaved Italy, he did not diſſemble his intending to turn his arms againſt them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was neceſſary to conquer the foreign enemy before he reduced and puniſhed thoſe at home. He was alſo highly laudable for his conſtancy in not hearkening to any propoſals from Mithridates, who offered him conſiderable aid againſt his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he preſcribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march againſt Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatria, in Lydia, and, having marked out a camp near his, he began his entrenchments. Fimbria's ſoldiers, who came out unarmed, ran out to ſalute and embrace thoſe of Sylla, and aſſiſted them with great pleaſure in forming their lines. Fimbria, ſeeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcileable enemy from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him aſſaſſinated, killed himſelf.

Sylla condemned Aſia in general to pay twenty thouſand * talents, and beſides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houſes to the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at diſcretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every hoſt ſhould pay each ſoldier quartered upon him four drachmas † a day, and entertain at table himſelf, and as many of his friends as he ſhould think fit to invite; that each captain ſhould have fifty ‡ drachmas, and beſides that a robe for his houſe, and another when he went abroad.

[r] After having puniſhed Aſia, he ſet out from Epheſus with all his ſhips, and arrived the third day at Piræus.

[r] Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. iii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

* About three millions ſterling. † About two ſhillings. ‡ About five-and-twenty ſhillings.

Piræus. Having been initiated in the great myſteries, he took for his own uſe the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Ariſtotle. That philoſopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophraſtus, one of his moſt illuſtrious diſciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepſis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Aſia; after whoſe death thoſe works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant perſons, who kept them ſhut up in a cheſt. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect induſtriouſly all ſorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepſis was in their dependance, thoſe heirs, apprehending theſe works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almoſt a hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, who after ſeveral generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to ſell to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who ſought every where after the moſt curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had laid, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chaſms; becauſe the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm eaten and obliterated. Theſe blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in ſome places with ſufficient want of judgement. From hence aroſe the many difficulties in thoſe works which have ever ſince divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead ſome ſmall time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he ſeiſed upon his library, and with theſe works of Ariſtotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of thoſe times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great deſire for theſe works of Ariſtotle, obtained permiſſion from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public. The

world is obliged to him for the works of that great philoſopher.

SECT. II. *Second war againſt Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus the conſul ſent againſt him. He obliges him to raiſe the ſiege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a complete victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the ſiſters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes, his ſon-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Aſia.*

SYLLA, on ſetting out for Rome, had left the government of Aſia to Murena, with the two legions, that had ſerved under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His ſon at this time made his firſt campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates, being returned into Pontus, marched his army againſt the people of Colchis and the Boſphorus, who had revolted againſt him. They firſt demanded his ſon Mithridates for their king, and, having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his ſon's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having cauſed him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and ſoon after put him to death. That ſon had done him great ſervices in the war againſt Fimbria. We ſee here a new inſtance of the jealouſy which the exceſſive love of power is apt to incite, and to what a height the prince, who abandons himſelf to it, is capable of carrying his ſuſpicions againſt his own blood; always ready to proceed to the moſt fatal extremities,

s A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 213—216.

tremities, and to ſacrifice whatever is deareſt to him on the ſlighteſt diſtruſt. As for the inhabitants of the Boſphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reaſon to believe his deſigns were againſt the Romans. He had not indeed reſtored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reſerved part of it in his own hands; and he began to ſuſpect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally ſhameful and diſadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the maſter he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and ſolicited him warmly to turn his arms againſt Mithridates. Murena, who paſſionately deſired to obtain the honour of a triumph, ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily perſuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himſelf maſter of Comana, the moſt powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates ſent ambaſſadors to him to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied that he knew of no treaty made with their maſter. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having paſſed by verbal agreement. In conſequence, he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the ſenate.

There [t] came a commiſſioner from Rome, but without a decree of the ſenate, who publicly ordered Murena not to moleſt the king of Pontus. But, as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere colluſion, and indeed Murena perſiſted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and, having paſſed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loſs.

[u] Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to ſuffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, ſhould be diſquieted,

[t] A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82. [u] A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

quieted, ſent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earneſt to deſiſt from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his ſons, only four years old, into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hoſtage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garriſons, promiſing no doubt to reſtore them in time. He then gave a feaſt, in which he promiſed prizes for ſuch as ſhould excel the reſt in drinking, eating, ſinging, and rallying: fit objects of emulation! Gabinius was the only one who did not think proper to enter theſe liſts. Thus ended the ſecond war with Mithridates, which laſted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretenſions were but indifferent.

[x] Mithridates at length reſtored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the ſame year. But he contrived a ſtratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates perſuaded his ſon-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to tranſport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other part of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did ſo, and took away three hundred thouſand ſouls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the ſame manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

[y] The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of ſending an embaſſy to him, in order to engage him to join forces againſt the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, inſinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the ſame

[x] A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. [y] A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

ſame time on different ſides, could never be able to oppoſe two ſuch formidable powers, when the moſt able and experienced of generals ſhould act in concert with the greateſt of kings. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Spain, with letters and inſtructions for treating with Sertorius; to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would ſuffer that prince to recover the provinces of Aſia, which the neceſſity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As ſoon as thoſe ambaſſadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commiſſion to Sertorius, he aſſembled his counſel, which he called *the ſenate*. They were unanimouſly of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy; and the rather, becauſe ſo immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would coſt him only a vain conſent to an enterpriſe which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatneſs of ſoul, proteſted, that he would never conſent to any treaty injurious to the glory or intereſts of his country; and that he could deſire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by juſt and honourable methods. And, having made Mithridates's ambaſſadors come into the aſſembly, he declared to them, that he would ſuffer his maſter to keep Bythinia and Cappadocia, which were accuſtomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no juſt right to diſpoſe; but he would never conſent he ſhould have any footing in Aſia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a ſolemn treaty.

When this anſwer was related to Mithridates, it ſtruck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have ſaid to his friends, "What order may we not "expect from Sertorius, when he ſhall ſit in the

"ſenate

" ſenate in the midſt of Rome; who, even now, con-
" fined upon the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean, dictates
" bounds to our dominions, and declares war againſt
" us, if we undertake any thing againſt Aſia?" A treaty was however concluded, and ſworn between them to this effect: that Mithridates ſhould have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius ſhould ſend his troops for that purpoſe, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his ſide, ſhould pay Sertorius * three thouſand talents down, and give him forty gallies.

The captain ſent by Sertorius into Aſia was a baniſhed ſenator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the faſces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well ſatisfied with the ſecond place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally in this proconſul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatneſs, that the name alone of that potent republic obſcured the ſplendour and power of the greateſt kings. Mithridates, however, found his intereſt in this conduct. Marius, as authoriſed by the Roman people and ſenate, diſcharged moſt of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had impoſed on them; expreſsly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conqueſts than all the forces of Mithridates.

[z] Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have obſerved elſewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately

z A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

* About four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

diately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that, after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

[a] Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurement of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and broke than magnificently adorned; assembled an hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides a hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of gallies, which glittered no longer, as before, with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatick war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

[b] The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other, Bithynia and Propontis.

[a] Plut. in Lucul. p. 469. [b] A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

Whilſt Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciouſneſs and violence of the farmers and uſurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he paſſed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come, Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the abſence of his colleague, to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would ſoon arrive, the greater haſte he made to fight, believing himſelf already aſſured of a triumph, and deſirous of preventing his colleague from having any ſhare in it. But he was beaten by ſea and land. In the naval battle he loſt ſixty of his ſhips, with their whole complements; and in that by land he had four thouſand of his beſt troops killed, and was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the city of Chalcedon, with no other hope of any other relief but what his colleague ſhould think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's raſh and preſumptuous conduct, endeavoured to perſuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might aſſure himſelf of finding the people inclined to revolt. He anſwered generouſly, that he would always eſteem it more glorious to preſerve a Roman citizen than to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole dominions of an enemy; and, without reſentment againſt his colleague, he marched to aſſiſt him with all the ſucceſs he could have hoped. This was the firſt action by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and which ought to do him more honour than the moſt ſplendid victories.

[a] Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the ſiege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Roman party in this war. In making himſelf maſter of

[a] A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 73. Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.

of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided in ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him, for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of the soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that, if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that, without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments

tachments he ſent out from time to time. In a word, he knew ſo well how to improve on all occaſions that offered, he weakened the army of the beſiegers ſo much, and uſed ſuch addreſs in cutting off their proviſions, having ſhut up all avenues by which they might be ſupplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The ſoldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and ſome went ſo far as to ſupport themſelves upon human fleſh. [d] Mithridates*, who paſſed for the moſt artful captain of his times, in deſpair that a general, who could not have had much experience, ſhould ſo often put the change upon him by falſe marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his ſword, was at length obliged to raiſe the ſiege ſhamefully, after having ſpent almoſt two years before the place. He fled by ſea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus purſued them, and, having come up with them near the Grannicus, he killed twenty thouſand of them upon the ſpot, and took an infinite number of priſoners. It was ſaid, that in this war there periſhed almoſt three hundred thouſand men, ſoldiers and ſervants, with other followers of the army.

After this new ſucceſs, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and, after having enjoyed for ſome days the pleaſure of having preſerved it, and the honours conſequential of that ſucceſs, he made a ſwift tour upon the coaſts of the Helleſpont, to collect ſhips and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raiſed the ſiege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he paſſed by

[d] A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 71.

* *Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia conſtitiſſet, eamque urbem ſibi Mithridates Aſiæ januam fore putaviſſet, qua effracta & revulſa tota pateret provincia: perfecta ab Lucullo hæc ſunt omnia, ut urbs fideliſſimorum ſociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obſidionis conſumerentur.* Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.

by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet*, beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in these two engagements; and in the last took M. Marius, the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself, and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But, upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for † only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He

* *Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam & ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam.* Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 21.

Quid? Illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine & parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? Id. pro Murœna, n. 33.

† Ten-pence.

He loſt in it almoſt all the remainder of his fleet and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmoſt expedition, to defend himſelf againſt that invaſion which he had foreſeen

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loſs of time beſieged Amiſus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities in the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the ſurname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his uſual reſidence, and he had deſigned to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with theſe two ſieges at once, he ſent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiſcyra, upon the river Thermoden, which place was not leſs conſiderable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amuſed himſelf too long in ſieges, which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army and gather ſtrength. To which he anſwered in his juſtification: "That is directly what I want; "I act in this manner for no other purpoſe, in order "that our enemy may take new courage, and aſ- "ſemble ſo numerous an army, as may embolden "him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer "before us. Do you not obſerve, that he has be- "hind him immenſe ſolitudes and infinite deſerts, in "which it will be impoſſible for us either to come "up with or purſue him? Armenia is but a few "days march from theſe deſerts. There Tigranes "keeps his court, that king of kings, whoſe power "is ſo great, that he ſubdues the Parthians, tranſ- "ports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of "Media, has made himſelf maſter of Syria and "Paleſtine, exterminated the kings deſcended from "Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters

"into

" into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally " and ſon-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think, " when he has him in his palace as a ſuppliant, " that he will abandon him, and not make war " againſt us? Hence, in haſtening to drive away " Mithridates, we ſhall be in great danger of draw- " ing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long ſought " pretexts for declaring againſt us, and who can " never find one more ſpecious, legitimate, and " honourable, than that of aſſiſting his father-in-law, " and a king reduced to the laſt extremity. Why " therefore ſhould we ſerve Mithridates againſt our- " ſelves, or ſhow him to whom he ſhould have re- " courſe for the means of ſupporting the war with " us, by puſhing him, againſt his will, and at a time " perhaps when he looks upon ſuch a ſtep as un- " worthy his valour and greatneſs, into the arms and " protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better " by giving him time to take courage, and ſtrengthen " himſelf with his own forces, to have only upon " our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians, " and Cappadocians, whom we have ſo often defeat- " ed, than to expoſe ourſelves to have the addi- " tional force of the Armenians and Medes to contend " with?"

Whilſt the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the ſpring. Lucullus left the command of the ſieges of Amiſus and Eupatoria to Murena, the ſon of him we have ſpoken of before, whom Cicero repreſents in a very favourable light. * " He went into Aſia, a province " abounding with riches and pleaſures, where he left " behind no traces either of avarice or luxury. He " behaved

* *Aſiam iſtam refertam & eandem delicatam, ſic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ veſtigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello ſic eſt verſatus, ut hic multas res & magnas ſine imperatore geſſerit, nullam ſine hoc imperatore.* Cic. pro Murena, n. 20.

" behaved in ſuch a manner in this important war, " that he did many great actions without the gene- " ral, the general none without him." Lucullus marched againſt Mithridates, who laid encamped in the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either ſervant or equerry to attend him, or a ſingle horſe of his ſtable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, ſeeing him on foot in the midſt of the flying croud, got from his horſe and gave it him. The Romans were ſo near him, that they almoſt had him in their hands, and it was owing entirely to themſelves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the ſoldiers loſt them a prey which they had purſued ſo long, through ſo many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the ſole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, ſays * Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea eſcaped the purſuit of her father, in the ſame kingdom of Pontus. That princeſs is ſaid to have cut the body of Abſyrtus, her brother, in pieces, and to have ſcattered his limbs in the places through which her father purſued her; in order that his care in taking up thoſe diſperſed members, and the grief ſo ſad a ſpectacle would give him, might ſtop the rapidity of his purſuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, ſilver, and precious effects, which had either deſcended to him from his anceſtors, or had been amaſſed by himſelf in the preceding wars; and whilſt the ſoldiers

* *Ex ſuo regno ſic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugiſſe dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris ſui membra in iis locis, qua ſe parens perſequeretur, diſſipaviſſe, ut eorum collectio diſperſa, mœrorque patrius celeritatem perſequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas & à majoribus acceperat, & ipſe bello ſuperior ex tota Aſia direptas in ſuum regnum congeſſerat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum noſtri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipſe è manibus effugit. Ita illium in perſequendi ſtudio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit.* Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.

diers employed themſelves in gathering thoſe treaſures too attentively, the king eſcaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was ſtopped in his purſuit by ſorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with ſeveral other places and caſtles, in which he found great riches. He found alſo the priſons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As thoſe unhappy perſons had long given themſelves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus ſeemed leſs a deliverance than new life to them. In one of theſe caſtles, a ſiſter of the king's, named Nyſſa, was alſo taken, which was a great inſtance of her good fortune. For the other ſiſters of that prince, with his wives, who had been ſent farther from the danger, and who believed themſelves in ſafety and repoſe, all died miſerably, Mithridates on his flight having ſent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other ſiſters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece ſpoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wiſdom than beauty, though exquiſite. The king, having fallen deſperately in love with her, and forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his paſſion, he ſent her at once fifteen thouſand pieces of gold. She was always averſe to him, and refuſed his preſents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and ſent her the royal tiara, or diadem, an eſſential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of thoſe nations. Nor did ſhe then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the ſplendour of a crown and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the inſtant of which we are now ſpeaking, that unfortunate princeſs had paſſed her life in continual

tinual ſadneſs and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, which inſtead of a huſband had given her a maſter, and of procuring her an honourable abode and the endearments of conjugal ſociety, had confined her in a cloſe priſon, under a guard of Barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, ſhe had only enjoyed a dream of the happineſs with which ſhe had been flattered, and had really loſt that ſolid and eſſential good ſhe poſſeſſed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had ſignified to the princeſſes the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further than to leave them at liberty to chooſe the kind of death they ſhould think moſt gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herſelf up by it. But that wreath not being ſtrong enough, and breaking, ſhe cried out, "Ah, fatal trifle, you might at leaſt do me this mournful office!" Then, throwing it away with indignation, ſhe preſented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, ſhe took a cup of poiſon, and as ſhe was going to drink it, her mother, who was preſent, deſired to ſhare it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup ſufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to ſurmount the ſtrength and youth of Berenice. That princeſs ſtruggled long with death in the moſt violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poiſon, order her to be ſtrangled.

Of the two ſiſters, Roxana is ſaid to have ſwallowed poiſon, venting a thouſand reproaches and imprecations againſt Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleaſed with her brother, and thanked him, that, being in ſo great danger for his own perſon, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to ſupply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from

from the indignities their enemies might elſe have made them ſuffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane diſpoſition. He continued his march in purſuit of Mithridates; but, having received advice that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his ſon-in-law, he returned directly; and, after having ſubjected ſome countries, and taken ſome cities in the neighbourhood, he ſent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned againſt Amiſus, which place was not yet taken. [c] Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the moſt able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the ſiege. When he ſaw that he could hold out no longer, he ſet fire to the city, and eſcaped in a ſhip that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmoſt to extinguiſh the flames, but in vain; and, to increaſe his concern, ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themſelves. His troops were inſatiable for booty, and he not capable of reſtraining them. A rain that happened to fall preſerved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, cauſed thoſe which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Ariſtion's being maſter of Athens, as deſired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the ſame rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amiſus, directed his march towards the cities of Aſia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the uſurers and tax-farmers held under the moſt dreadful oppreſſion; inſomuch that thoſe poor people were obliged to ſell their children of both ſexes, and even ſet up to auction the paintings and ſtatues conſecrated to the gods. And, when theſe would not ſuffice

[c] A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

ſuffice to pay the duties, taxes, and intereſt, unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often expoſed to ſuch barbarous tortures, that ſlavery, in compariſon with their miſeries, ſeemed a kind of redreſs and tranquillity to them.

Theſe immenſe debts of the province aroſe from the fine of twenty thouſand * talents which Sylla had impoſed on it. They had already paid the ſum twice over: but thoſe inſatiable uſurers, by heaping intereſt upon intereſt, had run it up to a hundred and twenty thouſand † talents; ſo that they ſtill owed tripple the ſums they had already paid.

Tacitus ‡ had reaſon to ſay, that uſury was one of the moſt ancient evils of the Roman common-wealth, and the moſt frequent cauſe of ſedition; but, at the time we now ſpeak of, it was carried to an exceſs not eaſy to comprehend.

The intereſt of money amongſt the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent.* hence it was called *uſura centemiſa*, or *unciarum fœnus;* becauſe in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent.* was paid: *Uncia* is the twelfth part of a whole.

[f] The § law of the twelve tables prohibited the raiſing intereſt to above twelve *per cent.* This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

[g] Ten years after, intereſt was reduced to half that ſum, in the 406th year of Rome; *ſemiunciarum fœnus.*

[h] At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all intereſt was prohibited by decree: *Ne fœnerari liceret.*

All theſe decrees were ineffectual. ‖ Avarice was always too ſtrong for the laws: and whatever regulations

[f] Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16. [g] Liv. l. vii. n. 27. [h] Ibid. n. 42.

* About three millions ſterling. † About eighteen millions ſterling.

‡ *Sanè vetus urbi fœnebre malum, & ſeditionum diſcordiarumque creberrima cauſa.* Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

§ *Neguis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.*

‖ *Multis plebiſcitis obviam itum fraudibus: quæ toties repreſſa miras per artes rurſum oriuntur.* Tacit. Ibid.

tions were made to ſuppreſs it, either in the time of the republic or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any compoſition in this point, and ſeverely condemns all uſury, even the moſt moderate; becauſe, God, having forbade any, ſhe never believed ſhe had a right to permit it in the leaſt. It is remarkable, that uſury has always occaſioned the ruin of the ſtates where it has been tolerated; and it was this diſorder which contributed very much to ſubvert the conſtitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greateſt calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himſelf in giving the provinces of Aſia ſome relaxation; which he could only effect by putting a ſtop to the injuſtice and cruelty of the uſurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themſelves deprived by Lucullus of the immenſe gain they made, raiſed a great outcry, as if they had been exceſſively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators againſt him; particularly confiding in having moſt of thoſe who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extenſive and almoſt unbounded influence. But Lucullus deſpiſed their clamours with a conſtancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECT. III. *Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.*

[h] TIGRANES, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the *king of kings*. After having overthrown, and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador a higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterised his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaint which the Romans had against Mithridates,

[h] A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. xlviii.—lvii. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

thridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without ſo much as attempting to give any reaſon or colour for it, he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every ſort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that, in caſe of his refuſal, he was inſtructed to declare war againſt him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his own will and pleaſure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more ſo with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not ſatisfy him. He had aſſumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that reſpect ſo far, as to cauſe himſelf to be ſerved by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings attending him; two on foot on each ſide of his horſe, when he went abroad: at table, in his chamber, in ſhort, every where, he had always ſome of them to do the loweſt offices for him; but eſpecially when he gave audience to ambaſſadors. For, at that time, to give ſtrangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all ſtand in two ranks, one on each ſide of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and poſture of common ſlaves. A pride ſo full of abſurdity offends all the world. One more refined ſhocks leſs, though much the ſame at bottom.

It is not ſurpriſing that a prince of this character ſhould bear the manner in which Clodius ſpoke to him with impatience. It was the firſt free and ſincere ſpeech he had heard during the five and twenty years he had governed his ſubjects, or rather tyrannized over them with exceſſive inſolence. He anſwered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra, his wife; that the union between them was of too ſtrict a nature

to

to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that, if the Romans were unjuſt enough to make war againſt him, he knew how to defend himſelf, and to make them repent it. To expreſs his reſentment by his anſwer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the uſual title of Imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commiſſion, and that war had been declared againſt Tigranes, returned with the utmoſt diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterpriſe ſeemed raſh, and the terrible power of the king aſtoniſhed all thoſe who relied leſs upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general than upon a multitude of ſoldiers. After having made himſelf maſter of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did alſo to Amiſus, and made them both free and independent cities. [k] Cotta did not treat Heraclia, which he took after a long ſiege by treachery, in the ſame manner. He enriched himſelf out of its ſpoils, treated the inhabitants with exceſſive cruelty, and burnt almoſt the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at firſt well received by the ſenate, and honoured with the ſurname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But, ſoon after, when the Heraclians had laid their complaints before the ſenate, and repreſented, in a manner capable of moving the hardeſt hearts, the miſeries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them ſuffer, the ſenate contented themſelves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the ſenators, a puniſhment in no wiſe proportioned to the crying exceſſes proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus with ſix thouſand men, and marched with the reſt, which amounted only to twelve thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He paſſed that river in the midſt of winter,

[k] Memn. c. li—lxi.

ter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at ſome ſmall diſtance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared ſpeak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the perſon who brought him the firſt news of it, whom he put to death in reward for ſo important a ſervice. He liſtened to nothing but the diſcourſes of flatterers, who told him Lucullus muſt be a great captain if he only dared wait for him at Epheſus, and did not betake himſelf to flight and abandon Aſia, when he ſaw the many thouſands of which his army was compoſed. So true it is, ſays Plutarch, that as all conſtitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not ſuited to bearing great fortunes without loſs of reaſon and infatuation.

Tigranes, at firſt, had not deigned ſo much as to ſee or ſpeak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmoſt contempt and arrogance, kept him at a diſtance, and placed a guard over him as a priſoner of ſtate, in marſhy unwholeſome places. [k] But after Clodius's embaſſy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all poſſible honours and marks of reſpect. In a private converſation which they had together without witneſſes, they cured themſelves of their mutual ſuſpicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they caſt all the blame.

In the number of thoſe unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepſis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had ſo much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had ſent him on an embaſſy to Tigranes, to deſire aid againſt the Romans. When he had explained the occaſion of his journey, Tigranes aſked him: "And for you, Metrodorus, what would you adviſe me to do, in regard to your maſter's demands?" Upon which

[k] A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

Metrodorus replied, out of an excefs of ill-timed fincerity, " As an ambaffador, I advife you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counfel not to do it." This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treafon. It coft him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced againft that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, fo much was he blinded by his prefumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commiffion, to go immediately with fome troops and bring Lucullus prifoner; as if the queftion had been only to arreft one of the king's fubjects. The favourite, with the greateft part of the troops given him, loft their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commiffion.

This ill fuccefs opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been fent back into Pontus with ten thoufand horfe, to raife troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in cafe Lucullus entered Armenia. For himfelf, he had chofen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the neceffary orders for raifing troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the fiege of it. This city was full of all forts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellifhment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king: for this reafon Lucullus preffed the fiege with the utmoft vigour; believing that Tigranes would never fuffer it to be taken, and that he would come

come on in a tranſport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raiſe the ſiege. And he was not miſtaken in his conjecture. Mithridates ſent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to adviſe him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, not to hazard a battle, and only to make uſe of his cavalry in cutting off Lucullus's proviſions. Taxilus himſelf was ſent by him with the ſame inſtructions, who, ſtaying with him in his camp, made earneſt inſtances to him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently diſciplined, veteran ſoldiers, and almoſt invincible.

At firſt he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, conſiſting of a great number of different nations, were aſſembled, not only the king's feaſts, but his councils reſounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of inſolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppoſe the advice of thoſe who were for a battle; and Mithridates himſelf was openly accuſed of oppoſing it, only out of envy, to deprive his ſon-in-law of the glory of ſo great a ſucceſs.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, leſt Mithridates ſhould arrive, and ſhare with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only ſorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He meaſured his hopes of ſucceſs by the number of his troops. He had about twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, fifty-five thouſand horſe, ſeventeen thouſand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, divided into companies and battalions, beſides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanſe and turn the courſe of rivers, with other labourers neceſſary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thouſand, who,

drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear ſtill more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had paſſed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the ſight alone of his army was ſufficient to ſtrike terror into the moſt daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with ſix thouſand foot before the place, and with all the reſt of his infantry, conſiſting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thouſand men, all his horſe, and about a thouſand archers and ſlingers, marched againſt Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and ſupplied his flatterers with great matter for pleaſantry. Some openly jeſted upon them; others, by way of diverſion, drew lots for their ſpoils; and of all Tigranes's generals, and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not intreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himſelf with being only a ſpectator of the action. Tigranes himſelf, to appear agreeable, and a fine rallier, uſed an expreſſion, which has been much admired; "If they come as ambaſſadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few." Thus the firſt day paſſed in jeſting and raillery.

The next morning, at ſun-riſe, Lucullus made his army march out of their entrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other ſide of the river towards the Eaſt, and the river ran in ſuch a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the Weſt, where it was eaſily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined alſo to the left, towards the lower part of the river, haſtening his march. Tigranes, who ſaw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh——"Do you ſee thoſe invincible Roman legions? You ſee they

can

can run away." Taxilus replied, "I wish your majesty's good fortune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away."

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legions move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, "How! Are those people coming to us?" They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the center; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general-officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of * Cepio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: "And for me, I will make this a happy day for the Romans."

It was the sixth day of October, (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms, bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately,

* The Greek text says, *the army of Scipio*, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, *the army of Cepio*.

diately, accuſtomed to fight only at a diſtance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the ſwiftneſs and impetuoſity of the attack, of the ſpace required for the uſe of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the ſummit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he ſaw at firſt what uſe he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horſe to charge that body of the enemies' cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aſide their lances with their ſwords. For the principal, or rather whole force of thoſe heavy armed horſe, conſiſted in their lances, which when they had not room to uſe, they could do nothing either againſt the enemy, or for themſelves; their arms being ſo heavy, ſtiff, and cumberſome, that they could not turn themſelves, and were almoſt immoveable.

Whilſt his cavalry marched to execute his orders he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageouſly, excited by the example of their general, whom they ſaw marching foremoſt on foot, and aſcending the hill. When he was at the top, he ſhowed himſelf from the higheſt part of it, and ſeeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "The victory is ours, fellow-ſoldiers, the victory is ours!" At the ſame time, with his two cohorts he advanced againſt that heavy armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make uſe of their pikes, but join thoſe horſe ſword in hand, and ſtrike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his ſoldiers had not ſo much trouble with them. That cavalry did not ſtay their coming on, but ſhamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horſes into the ranks of their

their foot, without joining battle at all, or ſo much as making a ſingle thruſt with their lances. The ſlaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do ſo, being prevented by their own battalions, whoſe ranks were ſo cloſe and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king ſo lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and ſeeing his ſon, the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to ſave himſelf as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at ſuch a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the moſt faithful of his ſervants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is ſaid, that in this defeat more than a hundred thouſand of the enemy's foot periſhed, and that very few of their horſe eſcaped: on the ſide of the Romans only five were killed, and a hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle ſo great a number of enemies with ſo few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquiſhed. The greateſt and moſt able Roman generals, who had ſeen moſt wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praiſes for having defeated two of the greateſt and moſt powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and ſpinning out the war, he exhauſted Mithridates when he was ſtrongeſt and moſt formidable; and ruined Tigranes by making haſte, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make ſlowneſs active, and haſte ſure.

It was this laſt conduct that prevented Mithridates from being preſent in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would uſe the ſame precaution and protraction againſt

againſt Tigranes, as he had done againſt himſelf. So that he marched but ſlowly and by ſmall days' journies to join Tigranes. But having met ſome Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmoſt terror and conſternation, he ſuſpected what had happened: and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in ſearch of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and inſulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horſe, lamented their common diſgraces, gave him the guard which attended, and the officers who ſerved him, conſoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes: ſo that Mithridates, upon this occaſion, ſhowed himſelf not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raiſing new troops on all ſides.

In the mean time a furious ſedition aroſe in Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied againſt the Barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That ſedition was at the higheſt when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occaſion, ordered the aſſault to be given, took the city, and after having ſeiſed all the king's treaſures, abandoned it to be plundered by the ſoldiers; who, beſides other riches, found in it eight thouſand talents of coined ſilver (about one million two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.) Beſides this plunder, he gave each ſoldier eight * hundred drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not ſuffice to ſatisfy their inſatiable avidity.

[m] As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permiſſion with extreme joy, and quitted it in ſo great

[m] Strab. l. xi. p. 532. & l. xii. p. 539.

* About twenty pounds.

great a number, that from one of the greateſt cities in the world Tigranocerta became in an inſtant almoſt a deſert.

[n] If Lucullus had purſued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raiſe new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do ſo, was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accuſed, not of negligence, but of having intended by ſuch conduct to make himſelf neceſſary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reaſons that prejudiced the generality againſt him, and induced them to think of giving him a ſucceſſor, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, ſeveral nations came to make their ſubmiſſions to him. He received alſo an embaſſy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this propoſal favourably, and ſent alſo ambaſſadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, diſcovered that the king, uncertain which ſide to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had ſecretly demanded Meſopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this ſecret intrigue, reſolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms againſt the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three moſt powerful princes under the ſun. But the oppoſition this propoſal met with from the troops obliged him to renounce his enterpriſe againſt the Parthians, and to confine himſelf to purſuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raiſing new troops. They had

[n] Dion. Caſ. l. xxxv. 1.

ſent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and eſpecially of the Parthians, who were the neareſt, and at the ſame time in the beſt condition to aſſiſt them in the preſent emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Salluſt has preſerved, and is to be found amongſt his fragments. I ſhall inſert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to * Arſaces King of the Parthians.*

" ALL thoſe † who, in a ſtate of proſperity, are " invited to enter as confederates into a war, " ought firſt to conſider whether peace be at their " own option; and next, whether what is demanded " of them, is conſiſtent with juſtice, their intereſt, " ſafety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual " peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always " intent upon ſeiſing occaſions of war, and entirely " void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you can- " not but acquire exalted glory. It may ſeem incon- " ſiſtent in me, to propoſe to you either an alliance " with Tigranes, or, powerful as you are, that you " ſhould join a prince in my unfortunate condition. " But I dare advance, that thoſe two motives, your " reſentment againſt Tigranes upon account of his " late war with you, and the no advantageous ſitu- " ation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, far " from oppoſing my demand, ought to ſupport it. For

* Arſaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.

† *Omnes, qui ſecundis rebus ſuis ad belli ſocietatem orantur, conſiderare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod quæritur, ſatiſne pium, tutum, glorioſum, an indecorum ſit. Tibi perpetuâ pace frui liceret, niſi hoſtes opportuni & ſceleſtiſſimi. Egregia fama ſi Romanos oppreſſeris, futura eſt. Neque petere audeam ſocietatem, & fruſtra mala mea cum tuis bonis miſeri ſperem. Atqui ea, quæ te morari poſſe videntur, ire in Tigranem recentis belli, & meæ res parum proſperæ, ſi vera æſtumare voles, maximè hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles ſocietatem accipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, uſum dedit bene ſuadendi, & quod florentibus optabile eſt, ego non validiſſimus præbeo exemplum, quo rectiùs tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus cauſa bellandi eſt, cupido profunda imperii & divitiarum.*

" For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you " juſt cauſe of complaint, he will accept, without " difficulty, whatever conditions you ſhall think fit " to impoſe upon him; and for me, I can ſay, that " fortune, by having deprived me of almoſt all I " poſſeſſed, has enabled me to give others good coun- " ſels, and, which is much to be deſired in perſons " of proſperity, I can, even from my own misfor- " tunes, ſupply you with examples, and induce you " to take better meaſures than I have done. For, do " not deceive yourſelf, it is with all the nations, " ſtates and kingdoms of the earth, the Romans are " at war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, " put their arms into their hands: the unbounded " ambition of extending their conqueſts, and the " inſatiable thirſt of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats alſo his firſt ſucceſſes againſt the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: " Examine * now, I beg you, when we are finally " ruined

* *Nunc quæſo, conſidera, nobis oppreſſis, utrum firmiorem te ad reſiſtendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, & auri eſſe: & ea re nobis ad ſocietatem, ab illis ad prædum peteris. Cæterùm conſilium eſt Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per noſtra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vinci ſine periculo tuo poſſumus. An ignoras Romanos, poſtquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertiſſe? Neque quicquam à principio niſi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? Convenas, olim ſine patriâ, ſine parentibus, peſte conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obſtant, quin ſocios, amicos, procul, juxtaque ſitos, inopes, potenteſque trahant, excidantque; omniaque non ſerva, & maxime regna, hoſtilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem pars magna juſtos dominos volunt. Nos ſuſpecti ſumus æmuli, & in tempore vindices affuturi. Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Perſidis inclitis divitiis eſt, quid ab illis, niſi dolum in præſens, & poſtea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, accerrima in eos quibus ſpolia maxima ſunt. Audendo & fallendo, et bella ex bellis ſerendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguent omnia aut occident: quod difficile non eſt, ſi tu Meſopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ circumgrediamur exercitum ſine frumento, ſine auxiliis. Fortuna autem noſtris vitiis adhuc incolumis. Neque illa fama ſequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppreſſiſſe. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicie noſtra unum imperium probare, quam ſocietate victor fieri.*

" ruined, whether you will be in a condition to reſiſt
" the Romans, or can believe, that they will con-
" fine their conqueſts to my country? I know you
" are powerful in men, in arms, and treaſure; it is
" therefore we deſire to ſtrengthen ourſelves by your
" alliance; they, to grow rich by your ſpoils. For
" the reſt, it is the intent of Tigranes to avoid draw-
" ing the war into his own country, that we ſhall
" go with all my troops, which are certainly well
" diſciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and
" attack the enemy in perſon in their own country.
" We cannot therefore either conquer or be con-
" quered, without your being in danger. Do you
" not know, that the Romans, when they found
" themſelves ſtopped by the ocean in the Weſt,
" turned their arms this way? That to look back to
" their foundation and origin, whatever they have,
" they have from violence, home, wives, lands, and
" dominions. A vile herd of every kind of vaga-
" bonds, without country, without forefathers, they
" eſtabliſhed themſelves for the misfortune of the human
" race. Neither divine nor human laws reſtrain
" them from betraying and deſtroying their allies and
" friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak
" or the powerful. They reckon all enemies that
" are not their ſlaves; and eſpecially whatever
" bears the name of king. For few nations affect a
" free and independent government; the generality
" prefer juſt and equitable maſters. They ſuſpect
" us, becauſe we are ſaid to emulate their power,
" and may in time avenge their oppreſſions. But for
" you, who have Seleucia, the greateſt of cities, and
" Perſia, the richeſt and moſt powerful of kingdoms,
" what can you expect from them but deceit at pre-
" ſent, and war hereafter? The Romans are at war
" with all nations; but eſpecially with thoſe from
" whom the richeſt ſpoils are to be expected. They
" are become great by enterpriſing, betraying, and
" by

" by making one war bring forth another. By this " means, they will either deſtroy all others, or be " deſtroyed themſelves. It will not be difficult to " ruin them, if you, on the ſide of Meſopotamia, " and we on that of Armenia, ſurround their army, " without proviſions or auxiliaries. The proſperity " of their arms has ſubſiſted hitherto ſolely by our " fault, who have not been ſo prudent to underſtand " this common enemy, and to ally ourſelves againſt " him. It will be for your immortal glory to have " ſupported two great kings, and to have conquered " and deſtroyed thoſe robbers of the world. This is " what I earneſtly adviſe and exhort you to do: that " you may chooſe rather to ſhare with us by a ſalu- " tary alliance, in conquering the common enemy, than " to ſuffer the Roman empire to extend itſelf univer- " ſally by our ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themſelves with their own troops.

[o] One of the means made uſe of by Tigranes to aſſemble a new army was to recall Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name: to him he ſent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. [p] Syria being thereby entirely ungarriſoned, Antiochus Aſiaticus, ſon of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the houſe of Seleucus, took poſſeſſion of ſome part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

[q] The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at laſt formed. It conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand choſen men, whom Mithridates had exerciſed well in the Roman diſcipline. It was about midſummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to chooſe an advantageous

[o] Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119. [p] Juſtin. l. xl. c. 2.
[q] A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68. Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.

vantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the ſtratagems he uſed engage them to come to a battle. Their deſign was to reduce him gradually; to haraſs his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of proviſions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could uſe, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which ſucceeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; as he had almoſt all his treaſures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreſeeing that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he ſaw the danger to which his capital was expoſed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to diſconcert his deſign; and by four great marches having got before him, poſted himſelf behind the river * Arſamia, which Lucullus was obliged to paſs in his way to Artaxata, and reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with him. The Romans paſſed the river without being prevented by the preſence or efforts of the enemy, a great battle enſued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worſt. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as ſoon as they charged, he was one of the firſt who fled; which threw the whole army into ſuch a conſternation, that it entirely loſt courage; and this was the principal cauſe of the loſs of the battle.

[r] Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was ſtill ſeveral days' journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached with its train of ſnows and

[r] Dion. Caſ. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

* Or Arſania.

and ſtorms, the * ſoldiers, already fatigued by a ſufficiently rude campaign, refuſed to follow him into that country, where the cold was too ſevere for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repaſſed mount Taurus, and entered Meſopotamia, where he took the city Niſibis, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there the ſpirit of mutiny began to ſhow itſelf openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's ſeverity, and the inſolent liberty of the Roman ſoldiers, and ſtill more, malignant practices of Clodius, had given occaſion for this revolt. Clodius, ſo well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by hiſtorians. They repreſent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried ſo far as to commit inceſt with his own ſiſter, the wife of Lucullus; to theſe he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of ſeditions: in a word, he was one of thoſe dangerous perſons, born to diſturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himſelf of the moſt wicked inclinations with the talents neceſſary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occaſion we are now ſpeaking. Diſcontented with Lucullus, he ſecretly ſpread reports againſt him, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the ſoldiers, and to enter into their intereſts. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to ſerve ſo long under a ſevere and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilſt their fellow-ſoldiers, whoſe conqueſts were very moderate in compariſon with theirs, had enriched themſelves under Pompey. Diſcourſes of this kind, attended

* *Noſter exercitus, etſi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, & prælliis uſus erat ſecundis, tamen nimiâ longinquitate locorum, ac deſiderio ſuorum commovebatur.* Cic. pro leg. Mar. n. 23.

tended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself, more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. † So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the route, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

Lucullus

* *Mithridates & suam manuam jam confirmârat, & eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, & magnis adventitiis multorum regum & nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur.* Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 24.

† *Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.*—Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 25.

[1] Lucullus at length engaged his ſoldiers to quit their winter quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed him ſeven thouſand men; amongſt whom were reckoned a hundred and fifty centurions and twenty-four tribunes*, which made this one of the greateſt loſſes the Romans had ſuſtained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to eſcape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment: which ſtill more exaſperated his ſoldiers againſt him. The ſpirit of revolt roſe ſo high, that, without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with inſolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almoſt from man to man, to conjure them to march againſt Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They anſwered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himſelf alone out of the ſpoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

[1] A. M. 2937. Ant. J. C. 67.

* *Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, ſed ex ſermone rumor afferet.* Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 25.

SECT. IV. *Mithridates, taking advantage of the diſcord which had ariſen in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is choſen to ſucceed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in ſeveral battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his ſon-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own ſon. Pompey marches into Armenia againſt Tigranes, who comes to him and ſurrenders himſelf. Weary of purſuing Mithridates to no purpoſe, he returns into Syria, makes himſelf maſter of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt againſt his father Mithridates, who kills himſelf. That Prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jeruſalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

MANIUS Acilius Glabrio and C. Piſo had been elected conſuls at Rome. The firſt had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The ſenate, at the ſame time, diſbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the diſobedience and inſolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

[t] It is true, his rough, auſtere, and frequently haughty diſpoſition gave ſome room for ſuch uſage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greateſt captains of his age; and of having had almoſt all the qualities that form a complete general. But the want of one diminiſhed the merit of all the reſt; I mean addreſs in winning the heart, and making himſelf beloved by the ſoldiers. He was difficult of acceſs; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an exceſs that made it odious; was inexorable in puniſhing offences; and did not know how to conciliate eſteem by praiſes and rewards

[t] Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxv. p. 7.

rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. * He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing his command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbad them paying him any further obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers; Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. [u] Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree

[u] A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 70.

* *In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavisti, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit.* Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 26.

decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon "him the command of all the troops and provinces "which were under Lucullus, and adding to them "Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be "charged with making war upon the kings Mithri-"dates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the "naval forces, and continuing to command at sea "with the same conditions and prerogatives as had "been granted him in the war against the pirates: "That is to say, that he should have absolute power "on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty "leagues distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaoni, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the Higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, which included also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed to succeed more to the honours of his triumph than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: But what gave them most pain, and they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion, the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, entitled, "For the law of Manilius." After having demonstrated,

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in the firſt two parts of his diſcourſe, the neceſſity and importance of the war in queſtion, he proves, in the third, that Pompey is the only perſon capable of terminating it ſucceſsfully. For this purpoſe, he enumerates the qualities neceſſary to form a general of an army, and ſhows that Pompey poſſeſſes them all in a ſupreme degree. He inſiſts principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, love of the public good: "Virtues, by ſo much the more neceſſary (ſays he) "as the * Roman name is become infamous and "hateful amongſt foreign nations, and our allies, in "effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of "oppreſſions of the generals and magiſtrates we ſend "amongſt them. † Inſtead of which, the wiſe, mo-"derate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey "will make him be regarded, not as ſent from "Rome, but deſcended from heaven, for the hap-"pineſs of the people. We begin to believe, that "all which is related of the noble diſintereſtedneſs of "thoſe ancient Romans is real and true; and that it "was not without reaſon, under ſuch magiſtrates, that "nations choſe rather to obey the Roman people than "to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of diſpleaſing the multitude kept thoſe grave ſenators ſilent, who had appeared ſo well inclined, and full of courage. The decree was authoriſed by the ſuffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though abſent, declared abſolute maſter of almoſt all Sylla

* *Difficile eſt dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio ſimus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio miſimus, injurias ac libidines.* Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 61.

† *Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, ſicut aliquem non ex hac urbe miſſum, ſed de cœlo delapſum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuiſſe homines Romanos hac quondam abſtinentiâ, quod jam rationibus cæteris incredibilè ac falſo memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii noſtri ſplendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non ſine cauſa majores ſuos tum, cum hac temperantiâ magiſtratus habebamus ſervire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluiſſe.* Ibid. n. 41.

Sylla had uſurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

[x] We muſt not imagine, ſays a very judicious hiſtorian, that either Cæſar or Cicero, who took ſo much pains to have this law paſſed, acted from views of the public good. Cæſar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whoſe authority he knew was at that time much greater than the ſenate's: he thereby opened himſelf a way to the ſame power, and familiariſed the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commiſſions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey ſo many favours and glaring diſtinctions, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould at length render him odious to the people, who would ſoon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other deſign than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero alſo intended only his own greatneſs. It was his weakneſs to deſire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of perſuaſion. Beſides his having the ſupport of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleaſed with ſhowing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and, in a manner, two republics in the ſtate, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the ſide he eſpouſed. In conſequence, it was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring ſometimes for the one, and ſometimes for the other.

[y] Pompey, who had lately terminated the war with the pirates, was ſtill in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were preſent, congratulated him, and expreſſed their joy, it is ſaid, that he knit his brows, ſtruck his thigh, and cried out as if oppreſſed by, and ſorry for, that new command; "Gods! what endleſs labours am I devoted to?

x Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21. y A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. 634—636. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 22—25. Appian. p. 238.

to? Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never ceaſe to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never eſcape the envy that perſecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children!"

This is uſually enough the language of the ambitious, even of thoſe who are moſt exceſſively actuated by that paſſion. But, however ſucceſsful they may be in impoſing upon themſelves, it ſeldom happens that they deceive others; and the public is far from miſtaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, could not ſupport his diſſimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and paſſion for command, ſtill more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and ſenſible ſatisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him; and his actions ſoon took off the maſk, and explained his real ſentiments.

The firſt ſtep which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government was to forbid any obedience whatſoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march he altered every thing his predeceſſor had decreed. He diſcharged ſome from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in ſhort, his ſole view in every thing was to let the partiſans of Lucullus ſee that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. [z] Strabo's uncle, by the mother's ſide, highly diſcontented with Mithridates for having put to death ſeveral of his relations, to avenge himſelf for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promiſed to reward him as ſuch conſiderable ſervices deſerved. Pompey, far from having any regard for ſuch juſt and reaſonable engagements, which his predeceſſor had entered

[z] Strab. l. xii. p. 557—558.

entered into ſolely from the view of the public good, affected an univerſal oppoſition to them, and looked upon all thoſe as his enemies who had contracted any friendſhip with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a ſucceſſor to endeavour to leſſen the value of his predeceſſor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himſelf; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to ſuch monſtrous exceſs as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conqueſts are exceedingly extolled; but ſo baſe and odious a jealouſy ought to fully, or rather totally eclipſe the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It paſſed at firſt with all poſſible politeneſs, and with reciprocal marks of eſteem and amity. But theſe were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which coſts the great nothing. The heart ſoon explained itſelf. The converſation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they ſpoke the truth of each other. They parted more incenſed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus ſet out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conqueſts. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, of whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his houſe with all poſſible politeneſs and generoſity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus, but not without being long conteſted.

[a] It was he who firſt brought cherries to Rome, which, till then, had been unknown in Europe. They were called Ceraſus, from a city of that name in Cappadocia,

Pompey

[a] Plin. l. xv. c. 25.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman intereſt. He has been ſpoken of already, and is the ſame who was ſurnamed *the God*. He concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with him. He offered peace alſo to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himſelf ſure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not ſo much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had prevented him, he ſent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded by way of preliminary, that he ſhould lay down his arms, and give up all deſerters, thoſe propoſals were very near occaſioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deſerters in it, they could not ſuffer any thing to be ſaid upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the reſt of the army conſent to ſee themſelves weakened by the loſs of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had ſent his ambaſſadors only to inſpect into the condition of the Roman army; and to ſwear that he would not make peace with the Romans either on thoſe or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having diſtributed his fleet in different ſtations, to guard the whole ſea between Phœnicia and the Boſphorus, marched by land againſt Mithridates, who had ſtill thirty thouſand foot, and two or three thouſand horſe; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very ſtrongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took poſſeſſion of it, and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other ſigns, that there was an abundance of ſprings within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an inſtant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not ſufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curioſity, had been ſo long ignorant of ſo important and neceſſary a reſource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and ſhut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almoſt eight * leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper diſtances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, ſuffered him to finiſh his works. He reduced him in conſequence to ſuch a want of proviſions, that his troops were obliged to ſubſiſt upon the carriage-beaſts in their camp. The horſes only were ſpared. After having ſuſtained this kind of ſiege for almoſt fifty days, Mithridates eſcaped by night, with all the beſt troops of his army, having firſt ordered all the uſeleſs and ſick perſons to be killed.

Pompey immediately purſued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that, in order to eſcape, he would make haſte to paſs the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced againſt him by night in order of battle. His deſign was only to ſurround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made ſuch intreaties and remonſtrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for diſtinguiſhing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuſe himſelf to the ardour of his troops, and led them on againſt the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to ſtand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmoſt conſternation. The Romans made a great ſlaughter of them, killed them above ten thouſand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horſe, in the beginning of the battle, opened himſelf a way ſword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But thoſe eight hundred horſe ſoon quitted their ranks and diſperſed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypſicratia, one of his wives, a woman of maſculine courage and warlike boldneſs; which

* 150 ſtadia.

which occaſioned her being called Hypſicrates [x], by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the maſculine. She was mounted that day upon a Perſian horſe, and wore the habit of a ſoldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journies, or being weary of ſerving him, though ſhe took care of his horſe herſelf, till they arrived at a fortreſs, where the king's treaſures and moſt precious effects laid. There, after having diſtributed the moſt magnificent of his robes to ſuch as were aſſembled about him, he made a preſent to each of his friends of a mortal poiſon, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own conſent.

[y] That unhappy fugitive ſaw no other hopes for him, but from his ſon-in-law Tigranes. He ſent ambaſſadors to demand his permiſſion to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-eſtabliſhment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his ſon. He cauſed thoſe ambaſſadors to be ſeiſed, and thrown into priſon, and ſet a price upon his father-in-law's head, promiſing a hundred * talents to whomſoever ſhould ſeize or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates who had made his ſon take up arms againſt him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major againſt Tigranes. He found him at war with the ſon of his own name. We have obſerved that the king of Armenia had eſpouſed Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three ſons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reaſon. The third, to eſcape the cruelty of ſo unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whoſe daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they beſieged Artaxata. But finding the place

[x] Ultra fœminam ferox. Tacit. [y] Plut. in Pom. p. 636, 637. Appian. 242. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

* A hundred thouſand crowns.

very ſtrong, and provided with every thing neceſſary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the ſiege, and returned with the reſt into his own dominions. Tigranes the father ſoon after fell upon the ſon with all his troops, beat his army, and drove them out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had deſigned to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way was informed of his defeat, and, having loſt all hope of obtaining aid from him, he reſolved to throw himſelf into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for, being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occaſion for ſuch a guide as him. He therefore cauſed that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and ſenſible that he was not in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an army, reſolved to have recourſe to the generoſity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambaſſadors ſent to him by Mithridates into his hands, and followed them directly himſelf. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to ſubmit his perſon and crown to the diſcretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He ſaid, that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only perſon in whoſe faith he could confide; that, in whatſoever manner he ſhould decide his fate, he ſhould be ſatisfied; that he was not aſhamed to be conquered by a man whom none could conquer; and that it was no diſhonour to ſubmit to him, whom fortune had made ſuperior to all others.

When he arrived on horſeback near the entrenchments

* *Mox ipſe ſupplex & præſens ſe regnumque ditioni ejus permiſit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuiſſe, cujus ſe fidei commiſſurus fret quam Cn. Pompeium. Proinde omnem ſibi vel adverſam vel ſecundam, cujus auctor ille eſſet, fortunam, tolerabilem futuram. Non eſſe turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere eſſet nefas: neque ei inhoneſtè aliquem ſummitti, quem fortuna ſuper omnes extuliſſet.* VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 37.

ments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; telling him that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his sword, and gave it to the lictors; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He after deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father; and as he had not shown him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted

* About 900,000l. sterling.

wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view; and, upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards, having discovered that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty * drachmas, a † thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand to each ‡ tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

[d] After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the ‖ Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured

d Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 28—33. Appian. p. 24, 25.

* About 22s. † About 25l. sterling. ‡ About 250l. sterling.

‖ Called Cyrnus also by some authors.

ed to ſtop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and paſſed the winter in their country.

[e] The next year he took the field very early againſt the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Perſians, and Macedonians, had alternately poſſeſſed the empire of Aſia. Pompey found means to ſubdue this people, though not without very conſiderable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians ſent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of maſſy gold; deſiring him to accept thoſe preſents as earneſts of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quæſtors for the public treaſury. He alſo ſubjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces priſoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chaſtiſe that nation for having taken up arms again, whilſt he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Coſis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as ſoon as the two armies came to blows, confined himſelf to Pompey, and ſpurring furiouſly up to him darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him ſo vigorouſly with his ſpear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horſe's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great ſlaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a ſecond peace upon the ſame terms with that he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great preſents, and by giving one of his ſons as an hoſtage for his obſerving it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had paſſed the winter at Dioſcurias, in the north-eaſt of the Euxine ſea. Early in the ſpring he marched to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, through ſeveral nations of the Scythians, ſome

[e] A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

ſome of which ſuffered him to paſs voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Boſphorus is the ſame now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appennage to one of his ſons, named Machares. But that young prince had been ſo vigorouſly handled by the Romans, whilſt they beſieged Sinope, and their fleet was in poſſeſſion of the Euxine ſea, which laid between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably obſerved it till then: He well knew that his father was extremely diſpleaſed with ſuch conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his preſence. In order to a reconciliation, he ſent ambaſſadors to him upon his route, who repreſented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the neceſſity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reaſons, he endeavoured to ſave himſelf by ſea, and was taken by veſſels ſent expreſsly by Mithridates to cruiſe in his way. He choſe rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the North, and ſeeing it impoſſible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the ſouth, and on his march ſubjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himſelf maſter of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœloſyria and Damaſcus, and Gabinius all the reſt of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieutenant-generals. [f] Antiochus Aſiaticus, ſon of Antiochus Euſebes, heir of the houſe of the Seleucides, who, by Lucullus's permiſſion, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken poſſeſſion when Tigranes abandoned it, came to ſolicit him to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne of his anceſtors. But Pompey refuſed to give him audience, and deprived

[f] Appian. in Syr. p. 233. Juſtin. l. xl. c. 2.

prived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilſt Tigranes was left in poſſeſſion of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the courſe of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the leaſt hoſtility, and by no means deſerved ſuch treatment. The reaſon given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not juſt that they ſhould loſe the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince who had neither the courage nor capacity neceſſary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expoſe it to the perpetual ravages and incurſions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In conſequence of this way of reaſoning, Antiochus loſt his crown, and was reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing his life as a private perſon. [g] In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almoſt two hundred and fifty years.

During theſe expeditions of the Romans in Aſia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and, after having expelled him, called in Ptolomæus Auletes to ſupply his place. That hiſtory will be treated at large in the enſuing article.

[h] Pompey afterwards went to Damaſcus, where he regulated ſeveral affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his reſidence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the ſame time.

[i] A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a ſon was ſeen at this time, a very extraordinary conteſt in thoſe days, when the moſt horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily reſigned the crown in favour of his ſon, and put the diadem on his head in the preſence of

[g] A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. [h] Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639.
[i] Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

Pompey. The moſt ſincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted ſon for what others would have highly rejoiced at. It was the ſole occaſion in which he thought diſobedience allowable; and he would have * perſiſted in refuſing the ſceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to ſubmit to paternal authority. This is the ſecond example Cappadocia has inſtanced of ſo generous a diſpute. We have ſpoken in its place of the like conteſt between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſtrong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it neceſſary to return thither in order to reduce them. He made himſelf maſter of almoſt all of them in conſequence upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aſpis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, ſurrendered a caſtle of the Boſphorus, which ſhe had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treaſures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, if her ſon Xiphares ſhould fall into his hands, that he ſhould be reſtored to her. Pompey accepted only ſuch of thoſe preſents as would ſerve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in ſurrendering that fortreſs, which he conſidered as a treaſon, he killed Xiphares in his mother's ſight, who beheld that ſad ſpectacle from the other ſide of the ſtrait.

Caina, or the new city, was the ſtrongeſt place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greateſt part of his treaſures, and whatever he had of greateſt value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongſt other things were found ſecret memoirs, written by himſelf, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the perſons he had poiſoned, amongſt whom were his own ſon Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, becauſe he had carried the prize in the chariot

* *Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuiſſet niſi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii ad ſuiſſet.* Val Max.

riot-race againſt him. What fantaſtical records were theſe! Was he afraid that the public and poſterity ſhould not be informed of his monſtrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

[k] His memoirs of phyſic were alſo found there, which Pompey cauſed to be tranſlated in Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For, amongſt the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very ſkilful in medicines. It was he who invented the excellent antidote which ſtill bears his name, and from which Phyſicians have experienced ſuch effects, that they continue to uſe it ſucceſsfully to this day.

[l] Pompey, during his ſtay at Aſpis, made ſuch regulations in the affairs of the country, as the ſtate of them would admit. As ſoon as the ſpring returned, he marched back into Syria for the ſame purpoſe. He did not think it adviſeable to purſue Mithridates in the kingdom of Boſphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he muſt have marched round the Euxine ſea with an army, and paſſed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely deſert; a very dangerous enterpriſe, in which he would have run great riſque of periſhing. So that all Pompey could do was to poſt the Roman fleet in ſuch a manner, as to intercept any convoys that might be ſent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he ſhould be able to reduce him to the laſt extremity; and ſaid, on ſetting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and neceſſity.

What carried him with ſo much ardour into Syria was his exceſſive and vain-glorious ambition to puſh his conqueſts as far as the Red-ſea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as

[k] Plin. l. xxv. c. 20. [l] A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641. Dion. Caſ. l. xxxvii. p. 34—36. Appian p. 246—251.

as far as the weſtern ocean on both ſides of the ſtraits of the Mediterranean. In the war againſt the Albanians, he had extended his conqueſts to the Caſpian ſea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to puſh them on as far as the Red-ſea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damaſcus; from whence he deſigned to have gone on againſt the Arabians, and afterward to have conquered all the countries to the Red-ſea. But an accident happened which obliged him to ſuſpend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embaſſy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He propoſed, that he ſhould be ſuffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and reſigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he ſhould alſo come in perſon, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not conſent to ſuch a meanneſs, but propoſed ſending his children, and ſome of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negociation broke up, and Mithridates applied himſelf to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it neceſſary to be upon the ſpot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpoſe, he went to paſs ſome time at Amiſus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the juſt puniſhment of the gods, ſays Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him he blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, that, ſubſiſting the war, he had diſpoſed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accuſtomed to act, till a war be finally terminated; and now fell into the ſame inconſiſtency himſelf. For he diſpoſed of governments, and divided the dominions of

of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates ſtill lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhauſtible in reſources, whom the greateſt defeats could not diſconcert, and whom loſſes themſelves ſeemed to inſpire with new courage and to ſupply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invaſion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raiſed.

Pompey, in the diſtribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman intereſts during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus who, by always perſiſting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the reſentment of Cæſar, and had occaſion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus alſo high-prieſt of the Moon, who was the ſupreme goddeſs of the Comanians, and gave him the ſovereignty of the place, which contained at leaſt ſix thouſand perſons, all devoted to the worſhip of that deity. I have already obſerved, that this Archelaus was the ſon of him who had commanded in chief the troops ſent by Mithridates into Greece in his firſt war with the Romans, and who, being diſgraced by that prince, had, with his ſon, taken refuge amongſt them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great uſe to them in the wars of Aſia. The father being dead, the high-prieſthood of Comana was given to the ſon, in recompence for the ſervices of both.

During Pompey's ſtay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, took the advantage of his abſence to make incurſions into Syria, which very much diſtreſſed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where laid the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He

cauſed

cauſed them to be interred with great ſolemnity, which gained him the hearts of his ſoldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia: but important advices interrupted thoſe deſigns.

Though Mithridates had loſt all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had cauſed to be made to him; and though he ſaw many of his ſubjects abandon his party, far from loſing courage, he had formed the deſign of croſſing Pannonia, and paſſing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itſelf, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind deſpair had inſpired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themſelves in his ſervice, and conſiderably augmented his army. He had ſent deputies into Gaul to ſolicit that people to join him, when he ſhould approach the Alps. As great paſſions are always credulous, and men eaſily flatter themſelves in what they ardently deſire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the ſlaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguiſhed, might ſuddenly rekindle upon his preſence: that the pirates would ſoon repoſſeſs themſelves of the empire of the ſea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppreſſed by the avarice and cruelty of the magiſtrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his aid under which they had ſo long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But, as to excute this project, it was neceſſary to march five hundred leagues, and traverſe the countries now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Tranſylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and paſs three great rivers, the Boryſthenes, Danube, and Po, the idea alone of ſo rude and dangerous a march threw his army into ſuch a terror, that, to prevent the execution of his deſign, they

they conſpired againſt him, and choſe Pharnaces, his ſon, king, who had been active in exciting the ſoldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by all the world, and that even his ſon would not ſuffer him to eſcape where he could, retired to his apartment, and, after having given poiſon to ſuch of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the ſame himſelf; but, when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourſe to his ſword. The wound he gave himſelf not ſufficing, he was obliged to deſire a Gauliſh ſoldier to put an end to his life. Dion ſays, he was killed by his own ſon.

[m] Mithridates had reigned ſixty years, and lived ſeventy-two. His greateſt fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poiſon about him, in order to eſcape that way if other means ſhould fail. The apprehenſion he was in, leſt his ſon ſhould deliver him up to Pompey, occaſioned his taking the fatal reſolution he executed ſo ſuddenly. It was generally ſaid, the reaſon that the poiſon did not kill him was his having taken antidotes ſo much, that his conſtitution was proof againſt it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impoſſible any remedy ſhould be an univerſal antidote againſt all the different ſpecies of poiſon.

Pompey was at Jericho in Paleſtine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere, had carried him, when he received the firſt news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expreſſes diſpatched on purpoſe from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Thoſe expreſſes arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was cuſtomary only when they brought advice of ſome victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very

[m] A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only began to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates and the manner of his killing himself, that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says * an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings: [n] *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus.* It is certain, that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again on the stage, on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a consummate general; that

[n] Academ. Quest. l. iv. n. 8.

* *Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus; virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna semper animo maximus; consiliis dux, miles manu; odio in Romanos Annibal.* Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 18.

that idea does not ſeem to reſult from his actions. He obtained great advantages at firſt; but againſt generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, oppoſed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his addreſs in poſting himſelf to advantage, by his preſence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But, ſhould we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be conſidered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which ſacrificed every thing to his inſatiable ambition.

[o] Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damaſcus, with deſign to ſet out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, ſaw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he ſent an embaſſy to make his ſubmiſſions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey ſome time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he ſet out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amiſus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his ſon had ſent to him; no doubt, to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occaſioned him ſo many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great preſents, in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the preſents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguiſhed in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, ſent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus, his anceſtors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the ſums that were neceſſary for the ſolemnity of a royal funeral.

In

[o] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4, 8, & de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 35 & 36.

In this laſt journey he took poſſeſſion of all the places in the hands of thoſe to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immenſe riches in ſome of them, eſpecially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's moſt valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: his principal arſenal was alſo in the ſame place. Amongſt thoſe rich things were two thouſand cups of onyx, ſet and adorned with gold; with ſo prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horſe, that it coſt the quæſtor or treaſurer of the army thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Boſphorus, in reward of his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Aſia, in order to winter at Epheſus. He gave each of his ſoldiers fifteen hundred drachmas (about 37l. ſterling) and to the officers according to their ſeveral poſts. The total ſum to which his liberalities amounted, all raiſed out of the ſpoils of the enemy, was ſixteen thouſand talents; that is to ſay, about two million four hundred thouſand pounds; beſides which, he had twenty thouſand more (three millions), to put into the treaſury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

[p] His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey cauſed three hundred and twenty-four captives of the higheſt diſtinction to march before his chariot; amongſt whom were Ariſtobulus, king of Judæa, with his ſon Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchus; Tigranes, the ſon of Tigranes, king of Armenia; the ſiſter, five ſons, and two daughters, of Mithridates. For want of that king's perſon, his throne, ſceptre, and gold buſto of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

BOOK

[p] A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 61.

BOOK THE TWENTY-THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

SECT. I. *Ptolemæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence, he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and, by money, obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother, very young, succeed him.*

WE have seen in what manner Ptolomæus Auletes ascended throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood-royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper, at

[a] A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

at that time to take poſſeſſion of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but, to ſhow that they did not renounce their right, they reſolved to call in part of the inheritance, and ſent deputies to Tyre to demand a ſum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretenſions of the Roman people were under no reſtrictions; and it had been a very inſecure eſtabliſhment to poſſeſs a ſtate to which they believed they had ſo juſt a claim, unleſs ſome means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himſelf declared an ally by the Romans was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But, by how much the more important that qualification was to him, ſo much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predeceſſor's will was ſtill freſh in the memory of every body; and, as princes are ſeldom pardoned for defects, which do not ſuit their condition, though they are often ſpared for thoſe that are much more hurtful, the ſurname of *Player on the Flute*, which he had drawn upon himſelf, had ranked him as low in the eſteem of the Romans as before in that of the Egyptians.

[b] He did not, however, deſpair of ſucceſs in his undertakings. All the methods, which he took for the attainment of his end, were along time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been ſo, if Cæſar had never been conſul. That ambitious ſpirit, who believed all means and expedients juſt that conduced to his ends, being immenſely in debt, and finding that king diſpoſed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, ſold him the alliance of Rome, at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchaſe, as well for himſelf as for Pompey, whoſe credit was neceſſary to him

b Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. liv. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxix p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents, that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

[c] Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient appennage of Egypt, and, in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

[d] Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who, after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival, expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that, if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and, saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage.

[c] A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. [d] Plut. in Cato Utic. p. 776.

equipage. But he was very much surprised, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him, in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world; to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees; and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that, though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him, therefore, to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome (one may easily guess with what views) dissuaded him from following Cato's good council. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city reduced to solicit his business from gate to gate like a private person.

[e] Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome: he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had formerly cultivated his friendship by various services which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judæa. Having, therefore, made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance.

e Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Piso. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

ance. The conſul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, ſeparated from Egypt only by the coaſt of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-eſtabliſhment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

[f] But, before his conſulſhip expired, the Egyptians having been informed that their king was not dead, as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, ſent thither a ſolemn embaſſy, to juſtify the revolt before the ſenate. That embaſſy conſiſted of more than a hundred perſons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philoſopher, named Dion, who had conſiderable friends at Rome. Ptolemy, having received advice of this, found means to deſtroy moſt of thoſe ambaſſadors, either by poiſon or the ſword, and intimidated thoſe ſo much whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themſelves of their commiſſion, or to demand juſtice for ſo many murders. But, as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible: and his immenſe profuſions, in gaining the pooreſt and moſt ſelf-intereſted ſenators, became ſo public, that nothing elſe was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and ſuch an exceſs of audacity, excited the indignation of all the perſons of integrity in the ſenate. M. Favonius, the ſtoic philoſopher, was the firſt in it who declared himſelf againſt Ptolemy. Upon his requeſt it was reſolved, that Dion ſhould be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, compoſed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of ſuch as he had corrupted with money, and of thoſe who had lent him ſums to corrupt others, acted ſo openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having cauſed him alſo to be killed ſome ſmall time after, though he who did the murder was accuſed juridically, the king was

[f] A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

was diſcharged of it, upon maintaining, that he had juſt cauſe for the action.

Whether that prince thought that nothing further at Rome demanded his preſence, or apprehended receiving ſome affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he ſet out from thence ſome few days after, and retired to Epheſus, into the temple of the goddeſs, to wait there the deciſion of his deſtiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noiſe than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterpriſing young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himſelf, in frequent harangues, againſt Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with ſingular pleaſure and extraordinary applauſe,

[g] In order to put a new ſcheme in motion, he waited till the new conſuls were elected, and as ſoon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he propoſed to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported, "If a king of Egypt, having occaſion for aid, applies to you, you ſhall not refuſe him your amity: but, however, you ſhall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will ſuffer and hazard much."

The uſual form was to communicate this kind of oracles firſt to the ſenate, in order that it might be examined, whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occaſion the paſſing a reſolution there to ſuppreſs this which was ſo oppoſite to that prince, immediately preſented the prieſts, with whom the ſacred books were depoſited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to expoſe what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the ſenate's opinion.

This was a new ſtroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sybil were too expreſs not to make all the impreſſion upon the vulgar, which their

[g] A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

heir enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront o his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to re-instate Ptolemy, set out mmediately for his province, in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanding by Ammonius, his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because, it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged, with reason, that it was necessary to substitute, in the room of force, a person of great authority: and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. [h] The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his inti-

[h] Cic. ad. Famil. l. i. Epist. 7.

mate friend, who, during his conſulſhip, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from baniſhment. But what means were there to render him any ſervice, in the condition things ſtood? And what could that proconſul do againſt a great kingdom, without uſing the force of arms, which was expreſsly forbad by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and ſubtilty, that were not uſed to conſider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-eſtabliſhment. Could not Lentulus have left him in ſome place near the frontiers, and went, however, with a good army to beſiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in the place, and then ſent the king thither, who would have found all things diſpoſed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I ſhall repeat his own words, taken from a letter written by him at that time to Lentulus: "You "are the beſt judge (ſays he) as you are maſter of "Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and "effect. If it ſeems practicable for you to take Alex-"andria, and poſſeſs yourſelf of the reſt of Egypt, "it is, without doubt, both for your own and the "honour of the commonwealth, that you ſhould go "thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at "Ptolemais, or in ſome other neighbouring place: "in order that, after you have appeaſed the revolt, "and left good garriſons where neceſſary, that prince "may ſafely return thither. * In this manner you will "re-inſtate him, according to the ſenate's firſt decree, "and he be reſtored without troops, which our zealots "aſſure us is the ſenſe of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magiſtrate, in an affair ſo important as that in the preſent queſtion, ſhould be capable of an evaſion, which appears ſo little conſiſtent with the integrity

* *Ita fore ut per te reſtituatur, quemadmodum initio ſenatus cenſuit; & ſine multitudine reducatur quemadmodum homines religioſi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.*

integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sybil's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, "That "all * the world would judge of his conduct from the "event: that therefore he had only to take his mea-"sures so well, as to assure his success; and, that "otherwise, he would do better not to undertake it."

Gabinius, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king, his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. [1] He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinius to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and, still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinius begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose intreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinius had engaged him to

[1] A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. Appian. in Syr. p. 120. & in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

* *Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicaturos, videmus——Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; sin dubium non esse conandum.*

follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be re-instated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

[k] Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown, and Berenice, to Antiochus Asiaticus, in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned: they brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, furnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great, to be put into a coffin of glass in order to seise that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high priest, of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though, in effect, only the son of that prince's chief general.

[l] Gabinius, after having re-passed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium; for they could not avoid passing plains, covered with sands

[k] Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion. l. xxxix. p. 115. 117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50. [l] Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

ſands of ſuch a depth as was terrible to think on, and ſo dry, that there was not a ſingle drop of water, the the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Antony, who was ſent before with the horſe, not only ſeiſed the paſſes, but having taken Peluſium, the key of Egypt on that ſide, with the whole garriſon, he made the way ſecure for the reſt of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition,

The enemy found a conſiderable advantage in the deſire of glory which poſſeſſed Antony. For Ptolemy was no ſooner entered Peluſium, than, out of the violence of his hate and reſentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the ſword. But Antony, who rightly judged that that act of cruelty would revert upon himſelf, oppoſed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his deſign. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but diſtinguiſhed himſelf by all the conduct of a great general.

As ſoon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good ſucceſs, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the propereſt time in conſequence for the conqueſt of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and diſputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march againſt the Romans, when it was neceſſary to encamp and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accuſtomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raiſed an outcry, that Archelaus ſhould employ the mercenaries in ſuch work at the expence of the public. What could be expected from ſuch troops in a battle? They were, in effect, ſoon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and gueſt, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and ſolemnized his obſequies with great magnificence. By

this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired, amongſt the Romans who ſerved with him in this war, the reputation of a man of ſingular valour and exceeding generoſity.

Egypt was ſoon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire poſſeſſion of his dominions. In order to ſtrengthen him in it, Gabinius left him ſome Roman troops for the guard of his perſon. Thoſe troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and cuſtoms of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almoſt every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the ſame manner, of all the rich perſons who had been of the adverſe party to him. He had occaſion for the confiſcation of their eſtates, to make up the ſum he had promiſed to Gabinius, to whoſe aid he was indebted for his re-eſtabliſhment.

[m] The Egyptians ſuffered all theſe violences without murmuring. But, ſome days after, a Roman ſoldier having accidently killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the ſpot, to avenge the inſult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

[n] Nothing further is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Poſthumus, who had either lent him, or cauſed to be lent him, the greateſt part of the ſums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely re-inſtated, that prince gave him to underſtand that he deſpaired of ſatisfying him, unleſs he would conſent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might re-imburſe himſelf by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer out of fear of loſing his debt if he refuſed it, the king ſoon found a colour for cauſing him to be impriſoned, though

[m] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75. [n] Cic. pro Rabir. Poſth.

though one of the oldeſt and deareſt of Cæſar's friends, and though Pompey was in ſome meaſure ſecurity for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed in his preſence, and by his procurement, in a country-houſe of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himſelf too happy in being able to eſcape from priſon and Egypt, more miſerable than he went thither. To complete his diſgrace, he was proſecuted in form as ſoon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the ſenate, by the ſums he had lent him for that uſe; of having diſhonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and, laſtly, of having ſhared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom, it was alledged, he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's diſcourſe in his defence, which we ſtill have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

[o] Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-eſtabliſhment. He left two ſons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldeſt ſon and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they ſhould marry together, according to the cuſtom of that houſe, and govern jointly. And, becauſe they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldeſt, was only ſeventeen years of age) he left them under the tuition of the Roman ſenate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whoſe hiſtory it remains for us to relate. [p] We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who ſome years after ſo baſely ordered him to be put to death.

[o] A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cæſar. de Bello Civ. l. iii.
[p] Eutrop. l. vi.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Pothinus and Achillas, miniſters of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raiſes troops to re-eſtabliſh herſelf. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharſalia, retires into Egypt. He is aſſaſſinated there. Cæſar, who purſued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he ſeems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and ſiſter, and for that purpoſe ſends for Cleopatra, of whom he ſoon becomes enamoured. Great Commotions ariſe at Alexandria, and ſeveral battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæſar's troops, wherein the latter have almoſt always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a ſea-fight, all Egypt ſubmits to Cæſar. He ſets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.*

[1] LITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas, the general of his army. Thoſe two miniſters, no doubt, to engroſs all affairs to themſelves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the ſhare in the ſovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, ſhe went into Syria and Paleſtine to raiſe troops in thoſe countries, in order to aſſert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and ſiſter, that Pompey, after having loſt the battle of Pharſalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he ſhould find there an open and aſſured aſylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was ſolely to his credit he was indebted for his re-eſtabliſhment. He was in hopes of finding the ſon grateful, and of being powerfully aſſiſted by him. When

[1] A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48. Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæſ. p. 730, 731. Appian de Bel. Civ. p. 480—484. Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. l. iii. Diod. l. xlii. p. 200—206.

When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coaſt with his army, between Peleuſium and mount Caſius, and Cleopatra at no great diſtance, at the head of her troops alſo. Pompey, on approaching the coaſt, ſent to Ptolemy to demand permiſſion to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two miniſters, Pothinus, and Achillas, conſulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's præceptor, and with ſome others, what anſwer they ſhould make; Pompey in the mean time waited the reſult of that council, and choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the deciſion of three unworthy perſons, who governed the prince, than to owe his ſafety to Cæſar, who was his father-in-law, and the greateſt of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; ſome were for receiving him, others for having him told to ſeek a retreat elſewhere. Theodotus approved neither of theſe methods, and diſplaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonſtrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reaſon was, becauſe if they received him, Cæſar would never forgive the having aſſiſted his enemy: if they ſent him away without aid, and affairs ſhould take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himſelf upon them for their refuſal. That therefore there was no ſecurity for them, but in putting him to death, by which means they would gain Cæſar's friendſhip, and prevent the other from even doing them any hurt: for, ſaid he, according to the proverb, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice carried it, as being, in their ſenſe, the wiſeſt and moſt ſafe. Septimius, a Roman officer in the ſervice of the king of Egypt, and ſome others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a ſhallop, under the pretext that great veſſels could not approachthe ſhore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the ſea-ſide, as with deſign to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius ten-

dered his hand to Pompey in the name of his maſter, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and ſon. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and, after having repeated theſe verſes of Sophocles, "Every man who enters the court of a tyrant becomes his ſlave, though free before," he went into the ſhallop. When they ſaw themſelves near the ſhore they ſtabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the ſtrand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed-men gave it with the aſſiſtance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raiſed him a wretched funeral-pile, and covered him with ſome fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven aſhore there.

Cornelia had ſeen Pompey maſſacred before her eyes. It is eaſier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from ſo tragical an object, than to deſcribe it. Thoſe who were in her galley, and in two other ſhips in company with it, made the coaſt reſound with the cries they raiſed, and weighing anchor immediately, ſet ſail before the wind, which blew freſh as ſoon as they got out to ſea: this prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chaſe them from purſuing their deſign.

Cæſar made all poſſible haſte to arrive in Egypt, whither he ſuſpected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the ſooner, he carried very few troops with him; only eight hundred horſe, and three thouſand two hundred foot. He left the reſt of his army in Greece and Aſia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to eſtabliſh his authority in all thoſe countries. * As for his perſon, confiding in his reputation, and the ſucceſs of his arms at Pharſalia, and

* *Cæſar confiſus fama rerum geſtarum, infirmis auxiliis proficiſci non dubitaverat; atque omnem ſibi locum tutum fore exiſtimabat.* Cæs.

and reckoning all places ſecure for him, he made no ſcruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confuſion. Theodotus, believing he ſhould do him an exceeding pleaſure, preſented him the head of that illuſtrious fugitive. He wept at ſeeing it, and turned away his eyes from a ſpectacle that gave him horror. He even cauſed it to be interred with all the uſual ſolemnities. And the better to expreſs his eſteem for Pompey, and the reſpect he had for his memory, he received with great kindneſs, and loaded with favours all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the higheſt and moſt grateful advantage of his victory was to find every day ſome new occaſion to preſerve the lives, and do ſervices to ſome citizens, who had borne arms againſt him.

The commotions increaſed every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, becauſe without a maſter. Cæſar, perceiving that the ſmall number of troops with him were far from being ſufficient to awe an inſolent and ſeditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Aſia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, becauſe of the Eteſian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all veſſels from quitting Alexandria; thoſe winds are then always full north. Not to loſe time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Ptolemy and his ſiſter Cleopatra.

We have ſeen, that when Cæſar was conſul for the firſt time, Auletes had gained him, by the promiſe of ſix thouſand talents, and by that means had aſſured himſelf of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part.

part of that ſum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cæſar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's firſt miniſter, employed various ſtratagems to make this rigour appear ſtill greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and ſilver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great perſons of the kingdom, eat out of earthen or wooden veſſels; inſinuating underhand, that Cæſar had ſeiſed upon all their ſilver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by ſuch reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundleſs.

But what finally incenſed the Egyptians againſt Cæſar, and made them at laſt take arms, was the haughtineſs with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in cauſing them to be cited to appear before him for the deciſion of their difference. We ſhall ſoon ſee upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form that they ſhould diſband their armies, ſhould appear and plead their cauſe before him, and receive ſuch ſentence as he ſhould paſs between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no ſuperior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæſar replied to theſe complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the ſenate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then veſted in his perſon, in quality of conſul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to eſtabliſh peace between the brother and ſiſter. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæſar, and advocates were choſen to plead the cauſe.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæſar's foible, believed her

her preſence would be more perſuaſive than any advocate ſhe could employ with her judge. She cauſed him to be told, that ſhe perceived, that thoſe ſhe employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded his permiſſion to appear in perſon. Plutarch ſays it was Cæſar himſelf who preſſed her to come and plead her cauſe.

That princeſs took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding that there were no means of entering without being known, ſhe thought of this ſtratagem. She laid herſelf at length in the midſt of a bundle of clothes. Apollodorus wrapped it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæſar's apartment, who was far from being diſpleaſed with the ſtratagem. The firſt ſight of ſo beautiful a perſon had all the effect upon him ſhe deſired.

Cæſar ſent the next day for Ptolemy, and preſſed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy ſaw plainly that his judge was become his adverſary; and having learned that his ſiſter was then in the palace, and in Cæſar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmoſt fury, and in the open ſtreet took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and related the circumſtances to the multitude who aſſembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himſelf at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuouſly to charge Cæſar with all the fury natural on ſuch occaſions.

The Roman ſoldiers, whom Cæſar had with him, ſecured the perſon of Ptolemy. But as all the reſt, who knew nothing of what paſſed, were diſperſed in the ſeveral quarters of that great city, Cæſar had infallibly been overpowered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the preſence of

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mind to ſhow himſelf to them from a part of the palace, ſo high, that he had nothing to fear upon it: From hence he aſſured them, that they would be fully ſatisfied with the judgement he ſhould paſs. Thoſe promiſes appeaſed the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an aſſembly of the people, ſummoned by his order. After having cauſed the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra ſhould reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger ſon, and Arſinoe the younger daughter, ſhould reign in Cyprus. He added the laſt article to appeaſe the people; for it was purely a gift he made them as the Romans were actually in poſſeſſion of that iſland. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians fury; and to extricate himſelf out of danger, was the reaſon of his making that conceſſion.

[r] The whole world were ſatisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occaſioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulſion of that princeſs from the throne, he had reaſon to apprehend, that the conſequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæſar's decree, he inſpired the people with new ſubjects of jealouſy and diſcontent. He gave out, that Cæſar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long ſubſiſt; and that his true deſign was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman ſhould govern them alone, and have all authority to herſelf. When he ſaw that the people came into his views, he made Achillas advance at the head of the army from Peluſium, in order to drive Cæſar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their firſt confuſion. Achillas, who had twenty thouſand good troops, deſpiſed Cæſar's ſmall

[r] A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47.

ſmall number, and believed he ſhould overpower him immediately. But Cæſar poſted his men ſo well in the ſtreets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his poſſeſſion, that he found no difficulty in ſupporting their attack.

When they ſaw they could not force him, they changed their meaſures, and marched towards the port, with deſign to make themſelves maſters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the ſea, and to prevent him, in conſequence, from receiving ſuccours and convoys on that ſide. But Cæſar again fruſtrated their deſign, by cauſing the Egyptian fleet to be ſet on fire, and by poſſeſſing himſelf of the tower of Pharos, which he garriſoned. By this means he preſerved and ſecured his communication with the ſea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the veſſels on fire came ſo near the quay, that the flames catched the neighbouring houſes, from whence they ſpread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was conſumed, which had been the work of ſo many kings, and in which there were four hundred thouſand volumes. What a loſs was this to literature!

Cæſar, ſeeing ſo dangerous a war upon his hands, ſent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongſt others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Aſia Minor, and ſignified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by ſea. That which went by ſea arrived in time; the other that marched by land did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæſar was beſt ſerved by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he ſent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought him the troops which extricated him out of danger, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Whilſt he waited the aids he had ſent for, that he might not fight an army ſo ſuperior in number, till

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he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achillas, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused that general to be accused of having given up the fleet to Cæsar that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every house

* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old. *Thevenot's Travels.*

houſe were vaulted reſervoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great ſwell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that uſe, and by a ſluice made on purpoſe was turned into the vaulted reſervoirs which were the ciſterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The maſters of houſes and their families drank of this water; but the poorer ſort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholeſome; for there were no ſprings in the city. Thoſe caverns were made in ſuch a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This proviſion of water ſerved for the whole year. Every houſe had an opening not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes cauſed all the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæſar to be ſtopped up: and then found means to turn the ſea-water into the latter, and thereby ſpoiled all his freſh water. As ſoon as they perceived that the water was ſpoiled, Cæſar's ſoldiers made ſuch a noiſe, and raiſed ſuch a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his diſadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be ſunk, where, at laſt, ſprings were found, which ſupplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was ſpoiled.

After that, upon Cæſar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinius had ſent by ſea was arrived upon the coaſt of Lybia, which was not very diſtant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it ſafely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was appriſed of this, and immediately aſſembled all the Egyptian ſhips he could get, in order to attack him, upon his return. A battle actually enſued between the two fleets. Cæſar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and had not the night come on, the ſhips of the enemy would not have eſcaped.

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To repair that loſs, Ganymedes drew together all the ſhips in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria, A ſecond action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houſes next the port, to be ſpectators of the fight, and expected the ſucceſs with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at ſtake, to whom there was no reſource left if they loſt this battle. Cæſar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and ſkill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæſar, to make the beſt of it, endeavoured to ſeiſe the iſle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to poſſeſs himſelf of the mole, called the Heptaſtadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtaining ſeveral advantages, he was repulſed with the loſs of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himſelf in his retreat. For the ſhip in which he had deſigned to get off, being ready to ſink with the too great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with great difficulty ſwam to the next ſhip. Whilſt he was in the ſea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of conſequence, and ſwam with the other, ſo that they were not ſpoiled.

The Alexandrians ſeeing that ill ſucceſs itſelf only ſerved to give Cæſar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at leaſt diſſembled ſuch a diſpoſition. They ſent deputies to demand their king of him; aſſuring him, that his preſence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæſar, who well knew their ſubtle and deceitful character, was not at a loſs to comprehend their profeſſions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's perſon, and if they failed in their promiſes, the fault would be entirely on their ſide, he thought it incumbent on him

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to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils with which a war very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. * Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigor than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea, near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

[s] He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœlosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's

[s] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14, & 15.

* *Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimus eruditus, ne à gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, fiens orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se dimitteret: non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius.* Hieron. de Bell. Alex.

Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city. For he was the firſt that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for thoſe who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was neceſſary to paſs through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had ſeized all the paſſes. The army was there put to a ſtand, and their whole deſign was upon the point of miſcarrying, if Antipater, by his credit and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to eſpouſe Cæſar's party. Upon the ſpreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the ſame, and Mithridates received from both all the proviſions his army had occaſion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to diſpute the paſſage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in conſequence. Mithridates put himſelf at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was ſoon broke, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his ſide, came to his relief. The battle began afreſh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater purſued them, made a great ſlaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged thoſe who remained to eſcape by repaſſing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæſar alſo marched to ſupport them; and as ſoon as he had joined them came directly to a deciſive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to eſcape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt ſubmitted to the victor.

Cæſar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any further oppoſition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatria, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This

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was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The paſſion which Cæſar had conceived for that princeſs, was properly the ſole cauſe of his embarking in ſo dangerous a war. He had by her one ſon, called Cæſario, whom Auguſtus cauſed to be put to death when he became maſter of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required. For though every thing was ſettled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who ſays he ſtayed there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

[t] Cæſar paſſed whole nights in feaſting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refuſed to follow him. He had reſolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have cauſed a law to paſs in the aſſembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome ſhould be permitted to marry ſuch and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propoſe that law to the people, not being able to refuſe his offices to the earneſt ſolicitation of Cæſar.

He carried Arſinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and ſhe walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that ſolemnity he ſet her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, leſt her preſence ſhould occaſion new troubles, and fruſtrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She choſe the province of Aſia for her reſidence, at leaſt it was there Antony

t Suet. in J. Cæſ. l. ii. c. 52.

Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caufed her to be put to death at the inftigation of her fifter Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæfar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caufed all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all thofe privileges were engraven with the decree of confirming them.

[u] What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bofphorus, and fon of Mithridates the laft king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conqueft, in writing to one of his friends, he made ufe of only thefe three words, *Veni, vidi, vici;* that is to fay, *I came, I faw, I conquered.*

SECT. III. *Cleopatra caufes her younger brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæfar having made way for the triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæfar, called alfo Octavius, Cleopatra declares herfelf for the triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarfus, gains an abfolute afcendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he efpoufes Octavia. He abandons himfelf again to Cleopatra, and after fome expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæfar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to fea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopartra flies and draws Antony after her. Cæfar's victory is complete. He advances*

[u] Plut. in Cæf. p. 731.

* This was a City of Cappadocia.

advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne; and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. [x] When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the first time, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate between Antony Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

[y] Cleopatara declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the consul, Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out. [z] Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

[a] Antony after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in

[x] A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. p. 226. [y] Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675. [z] A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. [a] A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927, Diod. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

in the battle of Philippi, having paſſed over into Aſia, in order to eſtabliſh the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambaſſadors of the Eaſt, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependence of the kingdom of Egypt, had ſent Caſſius aid againſt Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to anſwer for the conduct of her governors: and ſent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to aſſemble the ſtates of that province. That ſtep became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occaſioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened paſſions in him, till then concealed or aſleep, inflamed them even to madneſs, and finally deadened and extinguiſhed the few ſparks of honour and virtue, he might perhaps ſtill retain.

Cleopatra, aſſured of her charms by the proof ſhe had already ſo ſucceſsfully made of them upon Julius Cæſar, was in hopes that ſhe could alſo very eaſily captivate Antony; and the more, becauſe the former had known her only when ſhe was very young, and had no experience of the world; whereas ſhe was going to appear before Antony, at an age wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and addreſs to treat and conduct the greateſt affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herſelf therfore with exceeding rich preſents, great ſums of money, and eſpecially the moſt magnificent habits and ornaments; and with ſtill higher hopes in her attractions and the graces of her perſon, more powerful than dreſs, or even gold, ſhe began her voyage.

Upon her way ſhe received ſeveral letters from Antony, who was at Tarſus, and from his friends, preſſing her to haſten her journey; but ſhe only laughed

laughed at their inſtances, and uſed never the more diligence for them. After having croſſed the ſea of Pamphylia, ſhe entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarſus. Never was equipage more ſplendid and magnificent than her's. The whole poop of her ſhip flamed with gold, the ſails were purple, and the oars inlaid with ſilver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raiſed upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and ſurrounded with the moſt beautiful virgins of her court, of whom ſome repreſented Nereides and others the Graces. Inſtead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other ſuch inſtruments of muſic, warbling the ſofteſt airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which ſpread their odours to a great diſtance upon the river, and on each ſide of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the ſpectacle had drawn thither.

As ſoon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarſus went out to meet her: ſo that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, ſaw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a ſingle perſon with him, but his lictors and domeſtics. A rumour was ſpread, that it was the goddeſs Venus, who came in maſquerade to make Bacchus a viſit for the good of Aſia.

She was no ſooner landed, than Antony ſent to compliment and invite her to ſupper. But ſhe anſwered his deputies that ſhe ſhould be very glad to regale him herſelf, and that ſhe would expect him in the tents ſhe had cauſed to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expreſſed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been diſpoſed with abundance of art, and were ſo luminous, that they made midnight ſeem agreeable day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But what endeavours he had uſed to exceed her in

his entertainment, he confeſſed himſelf overcome, as well in the ſplendor as diſpoſition of the feaſt, and was the firſt to rally the parſimony and plainneſs of his own, in compariſon with the ſumptuoſity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was groſs in the pleaſantries of Antony, and more expreſſive of the ſoldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with ſo much wit and grace, that he was not in the leaſt offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her converſation, attended with all poſſible ſweetneſs and gaiety, had attractions in them ſtill more irreſiſtible than her form and features, and left ſuch incentives in the heart, the very ſoul, as were not eaſily conceivable. She charmed whenever ſhe but ſpoke, ſuch muſic and harmony were in her utterance, and the very ſound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints againſt Cleopatra, which were, beſides, without foundation. She ſtruck Antony ſo violently with her charms, and gained ſo abſolute an aſcendant over him, that he could refuſe her nothing. It was at this time he cauſed Arſinoe her ſiſter to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a ſecure aſylum.

[b] Great feaſts were made every day. Some new banquet ſtill out-did that which preceded it, and ſhe ſeemed to ſtudy to excel herſelf. Antony, in a feaſt which ſhe made, was aſtoniſhed at ſeeing the riches diſplayed on all ſides, and eſpecially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the moſt excellent workmen. She told him, with a diſdainful air, that thoſe were but trifles, and made him a preſent of them. The next day the banquet was ſtill more ſuperb. Antony, according to cuſtom, had brought a good number of gueſts along with him, all officers of rank and diſtinction. She gave them all the veſſels and plate of gold and ſilver uſed at the entertainment.

Without

[b] Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

Without doubt, in one of theſe feaſts happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jeſted according to cuſtom upon Antony's table, as very indifferently ſerved and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he aſked her with ſome warmth, what ſhe thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra anſwered coldly, that ſhe could expend * more than a million of livres upon one ſupper. He affirmed, that ſhe only boaſted, that it was impoſſible, and that ſhe could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The ſervice was magnificent, but had nothing ſo very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expence, demanded of the queen the price of the ſeveral diſhes, and with an air of raillery, as ſecure of victory, told her, that they were ſtill far from a million. Stay, ſaid the queen, this is only a beginning. I ſhall try whether I cannot ſpend a million only upon myſelf. A ſecond † table was brought, and, according to the order ſhe had before given, nothing was ſet on it but a ſingle cup of vinegar. Antony, ſurpriſed at ſuch a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the fineſt pearls that ever were ſeen, each of which was valued at about fifty thouſand pounds. One of theſe pearls ſhe took off, threw it into ‡ the vinegar, and after having made it melt, ſwallowed it. She was preparing to do as much

* *Centies H. S. Hoc eſt centies centena millies ſeſtertiûm.* Which amounts to more than a million of livres, or 52,500l. ſterling.

† The ancients changed their tables at every courſe.

‡ Vinegar is of force to melt the hardeſt things. *Aceti ſuccus domitor rerum*, as Pliny ſays of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the diſgrace of royalty, the ſon of a comedian (Clodius the ſon of Æſopus) had done ſomething of the ſame kind, and often ſwallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the ſole pleaſure of making the expence of his meals enormous.

Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies ſolidûm exſorberet, aceto
Diluit inſignem baccam——— Hor. l. ii. Sat. 5.

much by the other*; Plancus ſtopped her, and, deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the ſingular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

[c] Antony was embroiled with Cæſar. Whilſt his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in ſupporting his intereſts, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if thoſe things did not concern him, he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they paſſed their time in games, amuſements, and voluptuouſneſs, treating each other every day at exceſſive and incredible expences; which may be judged of from the following circumſtance.

[d] A young Greek who went to Alexandria to ſtudy phyſic, upon the great noiſe thoſe feaſts made, had the curioſity to aſſure himſelf with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he ſaw among other things, eight wild boars roaſting whole at the ſame time. Upon which he expreſſed ſurpriſe at the great number of gueſts that he ſuppoſed were to be at this ſupper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not ſo many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all; but that it was neceſſary every thing ſhould be ſerved in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceaſes and ſpoils. "For (added he) it often happens "that Antony will order his ſupper, and that a moment "after forbid it to be ſerved, having entered into ſome "converſation that diverts him. For that reaſon not "one but many ſuppers are provided, becauſe it is hard "to know at what time he will think fit to eat."

Cleopatra, leſt Antony ſhould eſcape her, never loſt ſight of him nor quitted him day or night, but was always

[c] A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40. [d] Plut in Anton. p. 928.

* This other pearl was afterwards conſecrated to Venus by Auguſtus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and having cauſed it to be cut in two, its ſize was ſo extraordinary, that it ſerved for pendants in the ears of that goddeſs.

always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and catched nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, "Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus: your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose

whoſe ſiſter Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. [e] But having began his march againſt the Parthians, his paſſion for the Egyptian, which had ſomething of enchantment in it, re-kindled with more violence than ever.

[f] This queen in the midſt of the moſt violent paſſions and the intoxication of pleaſures, retained always a taſte for polite learning and the ſciences. In the place where ſtood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt ſome years before, as we have obſerved, ſhe erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by preſenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thouſand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament, ſhe made uſe of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom ſhe ſpoke by an interpreter; ſhe anſwered moſt of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. [g] She knew beſides ſeveral other languages; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt had ſcarcely been able to learn the Egyptian, and ſome of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herſelf the lawful wife of Antony, ſaw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom ſhe looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appeaſe her, was obliged to make her magnificent preſents. He gave her Phœnicia, the Lower Syria, the iſle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To theſe he added part of Judæa and Arabia. Theſe great preſents, which conſiderably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no leſs offended at the exceſſive honours which he paid this foreign princeſs.

Two

[e] A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. Epiphan. de menſ. & pond.

[f] A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38.

[g] Plut in Anton. p. 927.

Two years paſſed, during which Antony made ſeveral voyages to Rome, and undertook ſome expeditions againſt the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

[h] It was in one of theſe expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddeſs much celebrated amongſt a certain people of Armenia. Her ſtatue of maſſy gold was broken in pieces by the ſoldiers, with which ſeveral of them were conſiderably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards ſettled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Auguſtus in his houſe, and to entertain him at ſupper. "Is it true," ſaid that prince at table, talking of this ſtory, "that the man, who made the firſt ſtroke at the ſtatue of this goddeſs, was immediately deprived of ſight, loſt the uſe of his limbs, and expired the ſame hour?" "If it were," replied the veteran with a ſmile, "I ſhould not now have the honour of ſeeing Auguſtus beneath my roof, being myſelf the raſh perſon who made the firſt attack upon her, which has ſince ſtood me in great ſtead. For if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddeſs; upon one of whoſe legs, even now, my lord, you are at ſupper."

[i] Antony, believing he had made every thing ſecure in thoſe countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he haſtened his march ſo much, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon and the continual ſnows, that he loſt eight thouſand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He reſted there in expectation of Cleopatra; and as ſhe was ſlow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languiſhment, that viſibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes and great ſums of money for his troops.

Octavia, at the ſame time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that ſhe came to diſpute Antony's heart

[h] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23. [i] A. M. 3969. Ant. J. C. 35. Plut. in Anton. p. 239—242.

heart with her. She was afraid that with her virtue, wiſdom, and the gravity of her manners, if ſhe had time to make uſe of her modeſt, but lively and inſinuating attractions to win her huſband, that ſhe would gain an abſolute power over him. To avoid which danger, ſhe affected to die for love of Antony; and, with that view, made herſelf lean and wan, by taking very little nouriſhment. Whenever he entered her apartment, ſhe looked upon him with an air of ſurpriſe and amazement; and when he left her, ſeemed to languiſh with ſorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the ſame moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as to hide her weakneſs and diſorder. Antony, who feared nothing ſo much as occaſioning the leaſt diſpleaſure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to ſtay for him at Athens and to come no farther, becauſe he was upon the point of undertaking ſome new expedition. At the requeſt of the king of the Medes, who promiſed him powerful ſuccours, he was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war againſt the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, diſſembling the wrong he did her, ſent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the preſents carried ſhe had deſigned for him, ſince he did not think fit to let her deliver them in perſon. Antony received this ſecond compliment no better than the firſt; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his ſeeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage than that of making Antony more inexcuſable. This was what Cæſar deſired, in order to have a juſter reaſon for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæſar, profeſſing an high reſentment of the affront ſhe had received, ordered her to quit Antony's houſe, and to go to her own. She anſwered that ſhe would not leave her huſband's houſe; and that if he had no other reaſons

for

for a war with Antony than what related to her, ſhe conjured him to renounce her intereſts. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been preſent, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but alſo thoſe of Fulvia. What a contraſt is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midſt of reſentment and affronts, how worthy does the one ſeem of eſteem and reſpect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence.

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, careſſes, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of preſents ſhe had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed moſt confidence. Thoſe flatterers repreſented to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition ſhe then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princeſs, who loved and lived for him alone. They ſoftened and melted the heart of Antony ſo effectually, that, for fear of occaſioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following ſpring.

[k] It was with great difficulty then, that he reſolved to leave Egypt, and remove himſelf from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

[l] After having made himſelf maſter of Armenia as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and preſented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleaſed to ſee a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leiſure after his great fatigues in feaſts and parties of pleaſure, in which Cleopatra and himſelf paſſed night and day. That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, ſeeing

[k] A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34. [l] A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C 33.

* *Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petiit: & promiſit Antonius,* Flor. l iv. c. 11.

ſeeing Antony full of wine, preſumed to aſk him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not aſhamed to promiſe her.

Before he ſet out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, reſolved to ſolemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of maſſy gold was erected for that purpoſe in the palace, the aſcent to which was by ſeveral ſteps of ſilver. Antony was ſeated upon his throne, dreſſed in a purple robe, embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his ſide he wore a ſcymetar, after the Perſian mode, the handle and ſheath of which were loaded with precious ſtones: he had a diadem on his brows, and a ſceptre of gold in his hand; in order, as he ſaid, that in that equipage he might deſerve to be the huſband of a queen. Cleopatra ſat on his right hand in a ſhining robe, made of the precious linen appropriated to the uſe of the goddeſs Iſis, whoſe name and habit ſhe had the vanity to aſſume. Upon the ſame throne, but a little lower, ſat Cæſario, the ſon of Julius Cæſar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom ſhe had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place aſſigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the preſence of all the people to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœloſyria, in conjunction with her ſon Cæſario. They afterwards proclamed the other princes kings of kings, and declared, till they ſhould poſſeſs a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldeſt, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he ſhould have conquered it; and to the youngeſt, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Thoſe two young princes were dreſſed after the mode of the ſeveral countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, riſing from their ſeats,

approached

approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kiſſed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had ſoon after a train aſſigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act againſt the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis; but the news of what paſſed at Rome againſt him prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with ſixteen legions to the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, and joined them himſelf ſoon after at Epheſus, to be ready to act in caſe of an open rupture between Cæſar and him; which there was great reaſon to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occaſioned Antony's ruin. His friends adviſed him to ſend her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war ſhould be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommdation with Cæſar, gained Canidius, by preſents of money, to ſpeak in her favour to Antony, and to repreſent to him, that it was neither juſt to remove a princeſs from this war, who contributed ſo much towards it on her ſide, nor uſeful to himſelf; becauſe her departure would diſcourage the Egyptians, of whom the greateſt part of his maritime forces conſiſted. Beſides, continued thoſe who talked in this manner, it did not appear that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army: ſhe, who had governed ſo great a kingdom ſo long, might have learnt, in her commerce with Antony, how to conduct the moſt important and difficult affairs with wiſdom and addreſs. Antony did not oppoſe theſe remonſtrances, which flattered at once his paſſion and vanity.

From Epheſus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greateſt part of their troops had their ren-

dezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

[m] It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Antony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him—"I am the poisoner against whom you take such mighty precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such an action." Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and

[m] Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

and eſteem Octavia had received, during her reſidence in that city. But whatever ſhe could do, ſhe could extort from them only forced civilities, which terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to ſend to her, and of which he himſelf would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

[n] The new conſuls, Caius Soſius and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæſar, inſtead of ſeiſing them, or cauſing them to be purſued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permiſſion; and declared publicly, that all perſons, who were ſo diſpoſed, had his conſent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained maſter at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own intereſts, or contrary to thoſe of Antony.

When Antony was appriſed of this, he aſſembled all the heads of his party; and the reſult of their deliberations was, that he ſhould declare war againſt Cæſar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were ſo far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæſar vigorouſly without loſs of time, the advantage muſt inevitably have been wholly on his ſide; for his adverſary was not then in a condition to make head againſt him, either by ſea or land. But voluptuouſneſs carried it, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæſar, by his delay, had time to aſſemble all his forces.

The deputies ſent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his houſe, with all her children, and in caſe of refuſal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the ſon of Antony by Fulvia; an indignity the more ſenſible to Octavia, as a rival was the cauſe of it. However, ſtifling her reſentment, ſhe anſwered the deputies only with her tears; and as unjuſt as his orders

[n] A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955.

orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it; and that she should be very wretched if she were the occasion of a new war; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Antony, from the hope that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony than before.

But nothing enraged them to such a height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by * two persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care; alledging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsario the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the titles of kings of kings. III. That he decreed in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra,

* Titius and Plancus.

Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are ſome authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæſar to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and cuſtoms, ſhould confide to them the execution of a teſtament, which violated them with ſo much contempt?

When Cæſar had an army and fleet ready, which ſeemed ſtrong enough to make head againſt his enemy, he alſo declared war on his ſide. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpoſe, he cauſed it to be expreſſed, that it was againſt Cleopatra: it was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not inſert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended againſt him. For beſides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggreſſor in a war againſt his country, he artfully managed thoſe who were ſtill attached to him, whoſe number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the neceſſity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expreſsly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was aſſembled. It conſiſted of five hundred ſhips of war of extraordinary ſize and ſtructure, having ſeveral decks one above another, with towers upon the head and ſtern of a prodigious height; ſo that thoſe ſuperb veſſels upon the ſea might have been taken for floating iſlands. Such great crews were neceſſary for completely manning thoſe heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take huſbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all ſorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than to do ſervice.

On board this fleet were two hundred thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. The kings of Lybia, Cappadocia,

Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in perſon; and thoſe of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had ſent their troops. A more ſplendid and pompous ſight could not be ſeen than this fleet when it put to ſea, and had unfurled its ſails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its ſails of purple; its flags and ſtreamers floating in the wind, whilſt trumpets, and other inſtruments of war, made the heavens reſound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her cloſe in a galley almoſt as ſplendid. That * queen, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, fooliſhly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared with her infamous troops of eunuchs utterly to ſubvert the Roman empire.

On the other ſide, leſs pomp and ſplendor was ſeen, but more utility. Cæſar had only two hundred and fifty ſhips, and fourſcore thouſand foot, with as many horſe as Antony. But all his troops were choſen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced ſeamen. His veſſels were not ſo large as Antony's, but thy were much lighter, and fitter for ſervice.

Cæſar's rendezvous was at Brunduſium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the ſeaſon of the year was over, and bad weather came on; ſo that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter

* ——— *Dum Capitolio*
Regina Dementes ruinas,
Funus & imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria ——— Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Whilſt drunk with fortune's heady wine,
Fill'd with vaſt hope, though impotent in arms,
The haughty queen conceives the wild deſign,
So much her vain ambition charms!
With her polluted hand of ſupple ſlaves,
Her ſilken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,
The Capitol in duſt to level low,
And give Rome's empire, and the world, a laſt and fatal blow!

winter quarters, and their fleets into good ports till ſpring came on.

[p] Antony and Cæſar, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would admit, took the field both by ſea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Antony's braveſt and moſt experienced officers adviſed him not to hazard a battle by ſea, to ſend back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all poſſible haſte into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; becauſe his army, compoſed of good troops, and much ſuperior in numbers to Cæſar's, ſeemed to promiſe him the victory; whereas, a fleet ſo ill manned as his, how numerous ſoever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long ſince Antony had not been ſuſceptible of good advice, and had acted only to pleaſe Cleopatra. That proud princeſs, who judged of things ſolely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæſar's ſhips could not approach it without being daſhed to pieces. Beſides, ſhe perceived aright, that in caſe of misfortune it would be eaſier for her to eſcape in her ſhips than by land. Her opinion, therefore, took place againſt the advice of all the generals.

* The battle was fought upon the ſecond of September, at the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in ſight of both the land-armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north and the other upon the ſouth of that ſtrait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for ſome time, and ſeemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæſar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noiſe of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight when ſhe was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian ſquadron, which conſiſted of ſixty ſhips of the line; with which ſhe ſailed for the coaſt of Peloponneſus. Antony, who ſaw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himſelf, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to

[p] A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

* The 4th before the nones of September.

to Cæſar, which, till then, he had exceedingly well diſputed. It, however, coſt the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ſhips fought ſo well after his departure, that, though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; ſo that Cæſar's troops were obliged to paſs it on board their ſhips.

The next day Cæſar, ſeeing his victory complete, detached a ſquadron in purſuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that ſquadron deſpairing of ever coming up with them, becauſe ſo far before it, ſoon returned to join the groſs of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and ſat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and ſupporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with ſhame and rage; reflecting, with a profound melancholy upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes ſhe had brought upon him. He kept in that poſture, and in thoſe thoughts, during the three days they were going to * Tænarus, without ſeeing or ſpeaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they ſaw each other again, and lived together as uſual.

The land-army ſtill remained entire, and conſiſted of eighteen legions and two-and-twenty thouſand horſe, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head and given Cæſar abundance of difficulty. But ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their generals, they ſurrendered to Cæſar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a conſiderable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæſar. He was ſo ſtruck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himſelf, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his

* Promontory of Laconia.

his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where ſhe was arrived.

When ſhe approached that port, ſhe was afraid, if her misfortune ſhould be known, that ſhe ſhould be refuſed entrance. She therefore cauſed her ſhips to be crowned, as if ſhe was returned victorious; and no ſooner landed, than ſhe cauſed all the great lords of her kingdom, whom ſhe ſuſpected, to be put to death, leſt they ſhould excite ſeditions againſt her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midſt of theſe bloody executions.

[P] Soon after ſhe formed another very extraordinary deſign. To avoid falling into Cæſar's hands, who, ſhe foreſaw, would follow her into Egypt, ſhe deſigned to have her ſhips in the Mediterranean carried into the Red Sea, over the iſthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treaſures on board thoſe ſhips and others which ſhe had in that ſea. But the Arabians who inhabited the coaſt having burnt all the ſhips ſhe had there, ſhe was obliged to abandon her deſign.

Changing, therefore, her reſolution, ſhe thought only of gaining Cæſar, whom ſhe looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a ſacrifice of Antony, whoſe misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princeſs's diſpoſition. Though ſhe loved even to madneſs, ſhe had ſtill more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than her huſband, ſhe entertained thoughts of preſerving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her ſentiments from him, ſhe perſuaded him to ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar, to negociate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambaſſadors with his; but gave them inſtructions to treat ſeparately for herſelf. Cæſar would not ſo much as ſee Antony's ambaſſadors. He diſmiſſed Cleopatra's with a favourable anſwer. He paſſionately deſired

[P] A. M. 3974. Ant. J. C. 30.

desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person to adorn his triumph; her treasures to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Lybia, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In his retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and careſſes of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

The second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment, and that those which were gentle

brought

brought on an eaſy but ſlow death, ſhe tried the biting of venomous creatures, and cauſed various kinds of ſerpents to be applied to different perſons. She made theſe experiments every day, and diſcovered at length that the aſpick was the only one that cauſed neither torture nor convulſions; and which, throwing the perſons bit into an immediate heavineſs and ſtupefaction, attended with a ſlight ſweating upon the face and a numbneſs of all the organs of ſenſe, gently extinguiſhed life; ſo that thoſe in that condition were angry when any one awakened them or endeavoured to make them riſe, like people exceedingly ſleepy. This was was the poiſon ſhe fixed upon.

To diſpel Antony's ſuſpicions and ſubjects of complaint, ſhe applied herſelf with more than ordinary ſolicitude in careſſing him. Though ſhe celebrated her own birth-day with little ſolemnity, and ſuitably to her preſent condition, ſhe kept that of Antony with a ſplendour and magnificence above what ſhe had ever inſtanced before; ſo that many of the gueſts who came poor to that feaſt went rich from it.

Cæſar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the ſpring into Syria, and from thence ſat down before Peluſium. He ſent to ſummon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received ſecret orders upon that head, ſurrendered the place without waiting a ſiege. The rumour of this treaſon ſpread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herſelf of the accuſation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death. What a monſter was this princeſs! The moſt odious of vices were united in her perſon; profeſſed immodeſty, breach of faith, injuſtice, cruelty, and, what crowns all the reſt, the falſe outſide of a deceitful amity, which covers a deſign formed to deliver up to his enemy the perſon ſhe loads with the moſt tender careſſes, and with marks of the warmeſt and moſt

moſt ſincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Iſis, ſhe had cauſed tombs and halls to be erected, ſuperb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftineſs and extent. Thither ſhe ordered her moſt precious moveables to be carried; gold, ſilver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood; as if ſhe intended to raiſe a funeral-pile, upon which ſhe would conſume herſelf with her treaſures. Cæſar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending leſt her deſpair ſhould induce her to burn them, diſpatched every day ſome perſon to her, to give her great hopes of the moſt kind and generous treatment, and nevertheleſs advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the city ſoon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no leſs than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princeſs's intrigues, and, being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous ſally, and after having ſeverely handled the beſiegers, and warmly purſued to the gates of their camp a detachment of horſe which had been ſent againſt him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the laſt effort of his expiring valour; for, after this exploit, his fortitude and ſenſe of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any ſervice to him. Inſtead of making uſe of this advantage, and of applying himſelf ſeriouſly to his defence, by obſerving the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him, he came completely armed as he was, to throw himſelf at her feet, and to kiſs her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately reſounded with acclamations, as if the ſiege had been raiſed; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amuſing Antony, ordered a magnificent feaſt

to

to be prepared, at which they paſſed the reſt of the day and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony reſolved to attack Cæſar by ſea and land. He drew up his land-army upon ſome eminences in the city; and from thence kept his gallies in view, which were going out of the port in order to charge thoſe of Cæſar. He waited without making any motion to ſee the ſucceſs of that attack; but was much aſtoniſhed when he ſaw Cleopatra's admiral ſtrike his flag when he came in view of Cæſar's, and ſurrender his whole fleet to him.

This treaſon opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for ſignaliſing himſelf by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his ſenſe, of doing him abundance of honour. He ſent to challenge Cæſar to a ſingle combat. Cæſar made anſwer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die beſides that. Antony ſeeing himſelf ridiculed by Cæſar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seiſed with rage and deſpair, he then flew to the palace, with deſign to avenge himſelf upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princeſs, who had foreſeen what happened, to eſcape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where ſtood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which ſhe had ordered the gates to be cloſed. She cauſed Antony to be told, that, preferring an honourable death to a ſhameful captivity, ſhe had killed herſelf in the midſt of her anceſtors' tombs, where ſhe had alſo choſe her own ſepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himſelf time to examine a piece of news which he ought to have ſuſpected after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and, ſtruck with the idea of her death, paſſed immediately from exceſs of rage to the moſt violent

violent tranſports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious reſolution, he ſhut himſelf up in his apartment with a ſlave, and having cauſed his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breaſt. But that ſlave, full of affection, reſpect, and fidelity for his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thruſt his ſword into his body, and fell upon the floor, in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his ſlave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that ſhe was alive. He no ſooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that ſhe was not dead, he ſuffered his wound to be dreſſed, and afterwards cauſed himſelf to be carried to the fort where ſhe had ſhut herſelf up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of ſome ſurpriſe; but ſhe appeared at a high window, from whence ſhe threw down chains and cords. Antony was made faſt to theſe, and Cleopatra, aſſiſted by two women, who were the only perſons ſhe had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving ſight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his laſt breath; whilſt ſhe, with her features diſtorted and her arms ſtrained, pulled the cords with her whole ſtrength; the people below, who could give her no further aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When ſhe had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, ſhe tore her clothes upon him, and beating her breaſt, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face cloſe to his, ſhe called him her prince, her lord, her deareſt ſpouſe. Whilſt ſhe made theſe mournful acclamations, ſhe cut off Antony's hair,

hair, according to the ſuperſtition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to thoſe who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his ſenſes, and ſeeing Cleopatra's affliction, ſaid to her, to comfort her, that he thought himſelf happy as he died in her arms; and that, as to his defeat, he was not aſhamed of it, it being no diſgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards adviſed her to ſave her life and kingdom, provided ſhe could do ſo with honour; to be upon her guard againſt the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæſar's train, and to truſt only Proculeius. He expired with theſe words.

The ſame moment Proculeius arrived from Cæſar, who could not refrain from tears at the ſad relation of what had paſſed, and at the ſight of the ſword ſtill reeking with Antony's blood, which was preſented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if poſſible. That princeſs refuſed to ſurrender herſelf to him. She had however a converſation with him without letting him enter the tomb. He only came cloſe to the gates which were well faſtened, but gave paſſage for the voice through cracks. They talked a conſiderable time together, during which ſhe continually aſked the kingdom for her children; whilſt he exhorted her to hope the beſt, and preſſed her to confide all her intereſts to Cæſar.

After having conſidered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæſar, who immediately ſent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and ſpoke like him through the crevices, protracting the converſation on purpoſe. In the mean time, while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the ſame window through which ſhe and her women had drawn up Antony, and, followed by two officers

who were with him, went down to the gate where ſhe was ſpeaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were ſhut up with her, ſeeing him come, cried out, quite out of her ſenſes with fear and ſurpriſe, "O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!" Cleopatra turned her head, ſaw Proculeius, and would have ſtabbed herſelf with a dagger, which ſhe always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and ſaid to her, "You wrong yourſelf and Cæſar too, in depriving him of ſo grateful an occaſion of ſhowing his goodneſs and clemency." At the ſame time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and ſhook her robes, leſt ſhe ſhould have concealed poiſon in them.

Cæſar ſent one of his freemen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herſelf, and to behave to her at the ſame time with all the regard and complacency ſhe could deſire: he likewiſe inſtructed Proculeius to aſk the queen what ſhe deſired of him.

Cæſar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conqueſt of which there were no longer any to diſpute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme conſternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, converſing with the philoſopher Ariæus, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to ſignify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he aſcended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and, ſeeing the whole people proſtrate upon the ground, he commanded them to riſe. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reaſons: the firſt, upon the account of Alexander their founder; the ſecond, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the ſake of Ariæus, one of their citizens, whoſe merit and knowledge he eſteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion to the queen, who at firſt aſked nothing

of

of Cæsar but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: but, when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and hagged, her voice faultering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien which were derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces; and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every moment of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My lord," (said she to him, pointing to those pictures,) "behold those "images of him who adopted you his successor in "the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for "my crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it, "See also" (said she, kissing them) "the dear testimonies of his love."

She afterwards read ſome of the moſt tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving acclamations, and paſſionate glances, but ſhe employed thoſe arts with no ſucceſs; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæſar's ruling paſſion, he did not ſeem affected with either her perſon or converſation: contenting himſelf with exhorting her to take courage and with aſſuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not diſcerning that coldneſs from which ſhe conceived no good augury; but, diſſembling her concern, and changing the diſcourſe, ſhe thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in perſon. She added that in return ſhe would deliver to him all the treaſures of the kings of Egypt. And, in effect, ſhe put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treaſurers, who was preſent, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her moſt valuable effects; incenſed at ſo great an inſult, ſhe roſe up, ran to him, and gave him ſeveral blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæſar, "Is it not a horrible thing (ſaid ſhe "to him) that when you have not diſdained to viſit "me, and have thought fit to conſole me in the ſad "condition I now am, my own domeſtics ſhould "accuſe me before you of retaining ſome woman's "jewels, not to adorn a miſerable perſon as I am, "but for a preſent to your ſiſter Octavia, and your "wife Livia; that their protection may induce you "to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princeſs."

Cæſar was exceedingly pleaſed to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inſpired her with ſuch language. He told her ſhe might diſpoſe as ſhe pleaſed of the jewels ſhe had reſerved: and after having aſſured her that he would treat her with

with more generoſity and magnificence than ſhe could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himſelf.

Not doubting but Cæſar intended to make her ſerve as an ornament to his triumph, ſhe had no other thoughts than to avoid that ſhame by dying. She well knew that ſhe was obſerved by the guards who had been aſſigned her, and, under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and beſides, that her time was ſhort, Cæſar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuſe him, ſhe ſent to deſire, that ſhe might go to pay her laſt duty at the tomb of Antony and take her leave of him. Cæſar having granted her that permiſſion, ſhe went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to aſſure Antony, to whom ſhe addreſſed her dicourſe as if he had been preſent before her eyes, that ſhe would ſoon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal proteſtation, which ſhe accompanied with ſighs and laments, ſhe cauſed the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be ſerved magnificently. When ſhe aroſe from table, ſhe wrote a letter to Cæſar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, ſhe ſhut the door, ſat down upon a bed, and aſked for a baſket of figs, which a peaſant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after laid down as if ſhe had fallen aſleep. But that was the effect of the aſpic, which was concealed amongſt the fruit, and had ſtung her in the arm, which ſhe had held to it. The poiſon immediately communicated itſelf to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing paſs without a ſtrict ſearch into it; but the diſguiſed peaſant, who was one of the queen's faithful ſervants, played his part ſo well, and there appeared ſo little appearance of

deſign in a baſket of figs, that the guards ſuffered him to enter. Thus all Cæſar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's reſolution, after having read the letter ſhe had written to him, to deſire that he would ſuffer her body to be laid in the ſame tomb with that of Antony, and inſtantly diſpatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithſtanding all the haſte they could make they found her dead.

That * princeſs was too haughty and too much above the vulgar to ſuffer herſelf to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence became capable of the fierceſt reſolutions, ſhe ſaw, with dry eyes and indifference, the mortal venom of the aſpic glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which ſhe had reiged twenty-two from the death of her father. The ſtatues of Antony were thrown down, and thoſe of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her ſervice, having given Cæſar a thouſand talents that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After

* *Auſa & jacentem viſere regiam*
Vultu ſereno fortis, & aſperas
Tractare ſerpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum:
Deliberata morte ferocior:
Sævis Libirnus ſcilicet invidens
Privata deduci ſuperbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

HOR. OD. XXXVII. L. I.

Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpoſe of her ſoul;
Calmly ſhe looks from her ſuperior woe,
That can both death and fear controul!
Provokes the ſerpent's ſting, his rage diſdains,
And joys to feel his poiſon in her veins,
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own deſcend,
Diſgrac'd, a vulgar captive by his ſide,
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her ſorrows end.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a prefect ſent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred fourſcore and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681 to 3974.

CON-

CONCLUSION

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY.

WE have ſeen hitherto, without ſpeaking of the firſt and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of ſome ſtates ſeparate, and in a manner entirely diſtinct from the reſt, three great ſucceſſive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, ſubſiſt during a long ſeries of ages, and at length entirely diſappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Perſians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, ſucceſſors, of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire ariſes, that of the Romans, which, having already ſwallowed up moſt of thoſe which have preceded it, will extend its power by force of arms, be itſelf torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being ſo diſmembered, make way for the eſtabliſhment of almoſt all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Aſia, and Africa. Behold here, to ſpeak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatneſs has of moſt ſplendid and moſt capable of exciting admiration! all theſe by a happy occurrence generally unite in it: height of genius, delicacy of taſte, attended with ſolid judgement; the excellent taſte of eloquence, carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, without departing from the natural and the true; the glory of arms, with that of arts and ſciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every

kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But, whilst we are in admiration and extacy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride; and, whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families in founding kingdoms and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, GOD, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him: "He seeth from everlasting to everlasting."[q] He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions we have seen that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know that under the image of that statue, which Nebuchodonosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, GOD thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus?[r] "A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that

[q] Eccles. xxxix. 19. [r] Dan. ii. 34, 35.

that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the braſs, the ſilver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the ſummer threſhing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

We ſee with our own eyes the accompliſhment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at leaſt in part. JESUS CHRIST, who deſcended to clothe himſelf with fleſh and blood in the ſacred womb of the bleſſed virgin, without the participation of man, is the ſmall ſtone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteriſtics of his perſon, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his diſciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were ſimplicity, poverty, and humility; which were ſo extreme, that they conceal from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine luſtre of his miracles, how ſhining ſoever it was, and from the ſight of the devil himſelf as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithſtanding that ſeeming weakneſs, and even meanneſs, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole univerſe. It is under this idea a prophet repreſents him to us: [s] "He went forth conquering and to conquer." His work and miſſion are, "to ſet up a kingdom for his father, which ſhall never be deſtroyed; and the kingdom which ſhall not be left to other people;" like thoſe of which we have ſeen in the hiſtory; "but it ſhall break in pieces, and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever."

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, meaſure, or end. The kings, who glory ſo much in their puiſſance, have nothing which approaches in the leaſt to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their ſubjects can think

[s] Apoc. vi. 2.

think as they pleaſe independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which eſcape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their deſigns often miſcarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwiſe. [t] "All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth." He exerciſes it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permiſſion. Every thing is diſpoſed by his wiſdom and power. Every thing co-operates, directly or indirectly, to the accompliſhment of his deſigns.

Whilſt all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilſt ſtates and empires paſs away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed in the external view of theſe things, are alſo drawn in by the ſame torrent, almoſt without perceiving it; there paſſes in ſecret an order and diſpoſition of things unknown and inviſible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it ſhall receive its final accompliſhment by the death of the laſt of the elect, [u] "Then cometh the end when he ſhall have delivered up the kingdom to GOD, even the Father; when he ſhall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power." GOD grant that we may have all our ſhare in that bleſſed kingdom, whoſe law is truth, whoſe king is love, and whoſe duration is eternity. *Fiat, Fiat.*

[t] Mat. xxviii. 18. [u] 1 Cor. xv. 24.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. It ſhows to what year the events related in hiſtory are to be referred. The years uſed for meaſuring the duration of time are either ſolar or lunar.

The Solar Year is that ſpace between one equinox and another of the ſame denomination the next year: for inſtance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains, 365 days five hours, and forty-nine minutes.

The Lunar Year, is compoſed of twelve lunar months, of which each is twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty-four minutes, that make in all 354 days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes.

Both of theſe years are called Aſtronomical, to diſtinguiſh them from that vulgarly uſed, which is termed Civil or Political.

Though nations may not agree amongſt themſelves in the manner of determining their years, ſome regulating them by the ſun's motion, and others by the moon's, they however generally uſe the ſolar year in *chronology*. It ſeems at firſt that as the lunar years are ſhorter than the ſolar, that inequality ſhould produce ſome error in chronological calculations. But it is to be obſerved, that the people who uſed lunar years added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the ſolar; which reconcile them with each other, or at leaſt, if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the queſtion is only to determine the year in which a fact has happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times diſtinguiſhed by ſome great event, to which all the reſt are referred. Theſe are called *Epochs*, from a Greek * word, which ſignifies to ſtay, becauſe we ſtay there to conſider as from a reſting place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachroniſms, that is to ſay, thoſe errors which induce confuſion of times.

The choice of the events which are to ſerve as epochs, is arbitrary, and a writer of hiſtory may take ſuch as beſt ſuit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of theſe points diſtinguiſhed by a conſiderable event, the enumeration and ſeries of ſuch years is called Æras. There are almoſt as many æras as there have been different nations. The principal, and moſt uſed, are thoſe of *the World*, of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of the *Olympiads*, and of *Rome*. I ſhould have been glad to have uſed all the four in the Chronological Table at the end of my hiſtory. But the narrow compaſs of theſe pages, obliges me to confine myſelf to the two moſt famous, that is to ſay, that of *the World*, and that of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Every body knows, that the *Olympiads* derived their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponneſus, near the city of Olympia. Theſe games were ſo ſolemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By *Olympiad* is meant the ſpace of four years complete, which is the time that elapſed between one celebration of games and another. The firſt uſed by chronologers begins, according to Uſher, in the ſummer of the year of the World 3228, before Chriſt 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the *Olympiads*, authors ſay the firſt, ſecond, or third, *&c.* year of ſuch an Olympiad; which being once known, it is eaſy to find the year of the world to which the ſame fact is to be referred; and in like manner, when the year of the world is known, it is eaſy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome

* Ἐποχη.

Rome was built according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this *epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The *Julian period* is also a famous æra in *chronology* used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use: but first I must give the reader an idea of the three *cycles*, of which it is composed.

By the word *cycle*, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The Solar *Cycle* is a term of twenty-eight years which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years the seven first letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calender for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order or the dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces all the variations included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the solar *cycle* consists.

The Lunar *Cycle*, called also the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the *cycle* to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was used for making the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two *cycles*, chronologers admit a third also, called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the *first indiction*, the second

ſecond the *ſecond indiction*, and ſo on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the firſt indiction, *&c.*

The firſt indiction is generally ſuppoſed to have began three years before the birth of Chriſt.

If theſe three cycles, that is to ſay, 28, 19 and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the *Julian period.*

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteriſtic cycles of each year, that is to ſay, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar *æra* commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period.* If that number be divided by 28, what remains * after the diviſion, ſhows the ſolar cycle of that year. In the ſame manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonſtrated, that the three numbers which expreſs theſe three *cycles* cannot be found again in the ſame order in any other year of the *Julian period.* It is the ſame in reſpect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its firſt year, that is to ſay, to the year when the three cycles, of which it is compoſed, began, we ſhall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; ſuppoſing the creation to precede the vulgar æra only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, becauſe it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæſar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the ſyſtems that divided the chronologers concerning the length of time elapſed ſince the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before *Jeſus Chriſt.* Others give more extent to that ſpace and augment the number of years of which it conſiſts. Theſe variations diſappear when the Julian period is uſed, for every body agrees in reſpect to the year in which it began, and there is nobody who does not

* I ſay what remains, and not the quotient, as ſome authors do; for the quotient expreſſes the number of *cycles* elapſed ſince the beginning of the period, and what remains after the diviſion ſhows the year of the current cycle.

not know, that the firſt year of the vulgar æra falls in the 4714 of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all ſyſtems and reconcile all chronologers.

It is eaſy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that anſwers to any year whatſoever of the vulgar æra of the world. For as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that æra 710 years, by adding that number to the year propoſed of the æra of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period*, that anſwers to it. For inſtance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expreſſes the year of the *Julian period*, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to ſay a few words upon the order I have obſerved in my Chronological Table. At firſt I propoſed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whoſe hiſtory falls out in the ſame times, and to place them all in the ſame line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in ſame year might be ſeen at one view. But, beſides my not having ſufficient room to place ſo many columns ſide by ſide with each other, I found that I ſhould have been obliged to leave too many blank ſpaces, which would have conſiderably lengthened the table, and in conſequence ſwelled the volume, which, as it is, is very large. I therefore choſe to ſeparate the Carthaginians and Syracuſans. and to give their chronology apart. The hiſtories of thoſe two people are abundantly interwoven with each other, and have little relation to thoſe of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into chronological diſcuſſions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I ſhould do ſo now. I ſhall generally follow Uſher, whom I have choſen for my guide in this ſubject.

A. M. ASSYRIANS. Ant. J. C.

1800. Nimrod, founder of the firſt empire of the Aſſyrians. 2204.

Ninus, the ſon of Nimrod.

Semiramis; ſhe reigned 42 years.

Ninyas.

The hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
1816.	Menes or Meſraim, firſt king of Egypt.		2188.
	- Buſiris.		
	Oſymandias.		
	Uchoreus.		
	Moeris.		
1915.		Foundation of the kingdom of Sycion.	2089.
1920.	The king-ſhepherds ſeize the lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.		2084.
2084.	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the King-ſhepherds.		1920
2148.		Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.	1856.
2179.	Thethmoſis expels the King-ſhepherds, and reigns in the Lower Egypt.		1825.
2276.	Joſeph is carried into Egypt and ſold by Potiphar.		1728.
2298.	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.		1706.
2427.	Rameſſes - Miamum begins to reign in Egypt. He perſecutes the Iſraelites.		1577.
2448.	Cecrops carries a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops. He inſtitutes the Areopagus.	1556.

2494. Amenophis, the eldeſt ſon of Rameſſes, ſucceeds him 1510.

2513. The Iſraelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is ſwallowed up in the Red-ſea. Seſoſtris his ſon ſucceeds him. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes, or diſtricts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Aſia, and ſubjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himſelf after a reign of 33 years. 1491.

2547. Pheron ſucceeds Seſoſtris. 1457.

2800. Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. 1204.

Rhampſinith.
Cheops.
Chephrem.
Mycerinus.
Aſychis.

The ſix preceding reigns were 170 years in duration, but it is hard to aſſign the length of each of them in particular.

2991. Pharaoh king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon. 1013.

3026. Seſac, otherwiſe called Seſonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge. 978.

A. M.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
2488.	Under Cranaus, succeſſor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood.	1516.
	Foundation of the kingdom of Lacædemonia, of which Lelex is the firſt king.	
2530.	Danaus, brother of Seſoſtris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponneſus, where he makes himſelf maſter of Argos.	1474.
	Perſeus, the nifth of Danaus's ſucceſſors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycenæ.	
2628.	Siſyphus the ſon of Æolus makes himſelf maſter of Corinth.	1376.
2710.	The deſcendants of Siſyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ.	1294.
2720.	Ægæus, the ſon of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.	1284.
2800.	The Heraclidæ make themſelves maſters of Peloponneſus, from whence they are obliged to retire ſoon after.	1204.
2820.	Troy taken by the Greeks.	1184.
2900.	The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponneſus, and ſeize Sparta, where the brothers Euryſthenes and Procles reign together.	1104.
2934.	Inſtitution of the Archons at Athens. Medon, the ſon of Codrus, is the firſt.	1070.
2949.	Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the ſeat of his government.	1055.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3033.	Sefac marches againſt Jeruſalem, and conquers Judæa.		971.
3063.	Zara, king of Egypt, makes war with Aſa, king of Judah.		941.
	Anyſis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himſelf maſter of Egypt, reigns there fifty years, after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anyſis.		
3120.		Lycurgus.	884.
3160.		Homer. Heſiod lived about the ſame time.	844.
3210.		Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia.	794.
3228.		Beginning of the common Æra of the Olympiads.	776.

A. M. I return to the chronology of the Aſſyrians, which I diſcontinued becauſe from Ninyas down to about this time, nothing is known of their hiſtory. Ant. J. C.

ASSYRIANS.

3233. Phul. The king of Niniveh, who repented upon Jonah's preaching. 771.

3237. Sardanapalus, the laſt king of the firſt empire of the Aſſyrians. After a reign of twenty years he burns himſelf in his palace. 767.

The firſt empire of the Aſſyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had ſubſiſted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed, that of the Aſſyrians of Babylon, that of the Aſſyrians of Niniveh, and that of the Medes.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3261.		First war between the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians. It continues twenty years.	743.
3280.		Archilochus the famous poet.	724.
3285.	Sehon He reigned fourteen years.		719.

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3257.	Belefis, or Nabonaffar. The ſcripture calls him Baladan.	Theglath Phalafar. The 8th year of his reign he aids Ahaz king of Judah, and makes himſelf maſter of Syria, and of part of the kingdom of Judah.	Arbaces exerciſes the ſovereign authority over the Medes, without taking upon him the title of king.		747.
				The Heradicæ poſſeſs the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the firſt king. He began to reign in the year of the world 2781. The hiſtory of his ſucceſſors is little known before Candaules.	
3268.	Merodach Baladan. He ſent ambaſſadors to Hezekiah to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health. Nothing is known of the other kings that reigned in Babylon.				736.
3269.		Salmanaſar. The eighth year of his reign he took Samaria, and carried away the people into captivity.		Candaules.	735.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3298.	Tharaca reigns eighteen years Anarchy two years in Egypt.		706.
3319.	Twelve of the principal lords of Egypt seize the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority.		685.
3320.		Second war between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians 14 years.	684.

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3286.				Gyges. He puts Candaules to death and reigns in his ſtead.	718.
3287.		Sennacherib. In the fifth year of his reign he makes war againſt Hezekiah, king of Judah. An angel deſtroys his army at the time he is beſieging Jeruſalem. On his return to his kingdom he is killed by his two ſons.			717
3294.		Aſarhaddon.			710.
3296.			Dejoces cauſes himſelf to be declared king of the Medes.		708.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3334.	Pſammiticus, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains ſole maſter of Egypt. He takes Azoth after a ſiege of 29 years.		670.

A. M.	BABYL.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3323.		Asarhaddon unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh.			681.
3324.				Death of Gyges. Ardys his son succeeds him. In his reign, of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themselves masters of Sardis.	680.
3327.		Asarhaddon carries the remains of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria. The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and carries him into Babylon.			677.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3364.		Tyrtæus, a poet who excelled in celebrating military virtue. Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionick sect.	640.

A. M.	NIN. et BAB.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3335.	Saosduchin, or Nabuchadonosor I. The twelfth			669.
3347.	year of his reign he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holophernes besiege Bethulia.	Death of Dejoces. Phraortes succeeds him.		657.
3356.	Death of Nabuchadonosor. Saracus, called also Chynaladanus, succeeded him.			648.
3369.		Phraortes perishes at the siege of Nineveh with part of his army. Cyaxares his son succeeds him. The second year of his reign he beats the Assyrians, and attacks Nineveh, the siege of which he is obliged to abandon by a sudden irruption of the Scythians into his dominions.		635.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3380.		Draco, legiſlator of Athens.	624.
3388.	Nechao. The ſeventh year of his reign he defeats the king of Aſſyria, and ſeizes part of his dominions. He reigned ſixteen years.		616.

A. M.	NIN. ET BAB.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3373.			Sadyattes. He forms the siege of Miletus in the sixteenth year of his reign.	631.
3378.	Nabopolassar's revolt against Saracus. He makes himself master of Babylon.	Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopolassar, takes Nineveh, and puts Saracus its king to death.		626.
	Destruction of Nineveh. From thenceforth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian empire.			
3385.			Alyattes. He continues the siege of Miletus, which had been carried on six years by his father, and puts an end to it six years after by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes.	619.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3400.		Solon. The ſeven ſages of Greece lived about this time. Alcæus, from whom the Alcaic verſes take their name. Sappho, at the ſame time.	604.
3404.	Pſammis ſix years.		600.

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
3397.	Nabopolaſſar aſſociates his ſon Nabuchadonoſor in the empire, and ſends him at the head of an army to re-conquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.			607.
3398.	Jeruſalem taken by Nabuchadonoſor. He tranſports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and amongſt them the prophet Daniel. The captivity begins from this carrying away the Jews to Babylon.			606.
3399.	Death of Nabopolaſſor. His ſon Nabuchadonoſor II. ſucceeds him in all his dominions.			605.
3403.	Nabuchadonoſor's firſt dream interpreted by Daniel.			601.
3404.		Aſtyages, the ſon of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to		600.

3410. Apries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the first year of his reign. 594.

3421. Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah. 593.

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J.C.
		Cambyſes king of Perſia.		
3405.	Nabuchadonoſor's lieutenants, after having ravaged Judæa, blockade Jeruſalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the ſame year, Nabuchadonoſor repairs in perſon to Jeruſalem, makes himſelf maſter of it, and appoints Zedekiah king inſtead of Jehoiachin, whom he carries into captivity.	Birth of Cyrus.		599.
3409.		Death of Cyaxares. Aſtyages his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns thirty-five years.		595.
3416.	Nabuchadonoſor deſtroys Jeruſalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his do-	Cyrus goes for the firſt time into Media, to ſee his grandfather Aſtyages. He remains three years with him.		588.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3430.	Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Libya. Amasis revolts againſt Apries.		574.
3432.	Nabuchadonoſor ſubjects Egypt, and confirms Amaſis in the throne.		572.
3435.	Apries dies in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Amaſis reigns after him in peace.		569.
3440.		Theſpis reforms tragedy. Pythagoras lived about this time.	564.
3444.		Simonides, the celebrated poet.	560.

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
	minions, he cauſes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.			
3432.	Nabuchadonoſor makes himſelf maſter of Tyre, after a ſiege of thirteen years. He did not march againſt Egypt till after this expetion.			572.
3434.	Nabuchadonoſor's ſecond dream interpreted by Daniel.			570.
3435.	Nabuchadonoſor reduced to the condition of beaſts during ſeven years, after which he reigns again one year. Evil-Merodach his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only two years.			569.
3442.			Cræſus. Æſop lived in	562.
3444.	Nerigliſſor. He makes great pre-	Death of Aſtyages. Cyaxares	his reign, and was in his court at	560.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3445.		Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens.	559.
3460.		Hypponax, author of the verse Scazon.	544.
		Heraclitus, chief of the sect which bears his name.	

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	Ant. J. C.
	preparations for war againſt the Medes, and calls Crœſus to his aid.	res ſucceeds him, known in the ſcripture under the name of Darius the Mede.	the ſame time with Solon.	
3445.		Cyrus returns into Media for the ſecond time, in order to aſſiſt his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.		559.
3447.		Expedition of Cyrus againſt the king of Armenia.		557.
3448.		Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Nerigliſſor is ſlain.	Crœſus flies before Cyrus.	556.
	Laborofoarchod. He reigns only nine months.			
3449.	Labynit, called in ſcripture Belſhazzar.			555.
		About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.		
3456.			Battle of Thymbrea, between Crœſus and Cyrus, followed with the taking of Sardis by the latter. End of the kingdom of Lydia.	548.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3464.		Birth of Æſchylus.	540.
		Cteſiphon, or Cherſiphron, a celebrated architect, famous eſpecially for building the temple of Diana of Epheſus.	
3478.		Death of Piſiſtratus. Hippas his ſon ſucceeds him.	526.
3479.	Pſammenitus. He reigns only ſix months. After the death of that prince, Egypt is annexed to the Perſian dominions, and continues ſo till the reign of Alexander the Great, which includes the ſpace of two hundred and ſix years.		525.

A. M.	BABYLON.	MEDES.	Ant. J. C.
3466.	Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united	Cyrus makes himſelf maſter of Babylon.	538.
3468.	with that of the Medes.	Death of Cyaxares.	536.

After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyſes, Cyrus, who ſucceeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with thoſe of the Babylonians and Perſians, and of the three formed a fourth under the name of the empire of the Perſians, which ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years.

Empire of the PERSIANS.

3468.	Cyrus. The firſt year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa.	536.
3470.	Daniel's viſion concerning the ſucceſſion of the kings of Perſia.	534.
3475.	Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Perſia, after having reigned ſeven years alone, and thirty from his ſetting out from Perſia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares.	529.
	Cambyſes his ſon ſucceeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the empire of the Perſians.	

A. M.	GREECE.	Ant. J. C.
3490.	Miltiades goes to ſettle in the Cherſoneſus.	514.
3496.	The Piſiſtratidæ are obliged to abandon Attica.	508.

A. M.	PERSIANS.	Ant. J. C.
3480.	Unſucceſsful expedition of Cambyſes againſt the Ethiopians.	524.
3481.	Cambyſes puts Meroe, who was both his ſiſter and wife to death.	523.
	It was about this time that Oretes, one of the Satrapæ of Cambyſes, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Samos, and cauſed Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death.	
3482.	Death of Cambyſes. Smerdis the Magus, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyſes, ſucceeds him. He reigns only ſeven months.	522.
3483.	Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes.	521.
3485.	Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed, that what is related in the hiſtory of Eſther, happened ſome time after the publication of this edict.	519.
3488.	Babylon revolts againſt Darius, and is taken after a ſiege of twenty months.	516.
3490.	Expedition of Darius againſt the Scythians.	514.
3496.	Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into ſubjection.	508.

The hiſtory of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almoſt confounded with that of the Perſians, for which reaſon I ſhall ſeparate their chronology no farther.

PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

3501.	The Perſians form the ſiege of the capital of the iſland of Naxos, and are obliged to raiſe it in ſix months.	503.
3502.	Ariſtagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his meaſures.	502.
3504.	The Ionians make themſelves maſters of Sardis, and burn it.	500.
3507.	The Perſians defeat the Ionians in a ſea-fight before the iſland of Lados, and make themſelves maſters of Miletus.	497.
	Æſchylus.	
3510.	Darius ſends Gobryas his ſon-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece.	494.
	Anacreon.	
3513.	Darius take the command of his armies from Gobryas, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.	491.

Battle

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3514.	Battle of Marathon.	490.
3515.	Unfortunate end of Miltiades.	489.
3519.	Death of Darius Hyſtaſpes. Xerxes his ſon ſucceeds him.	485.
3520.	Birth of the hiſtorian Herodotus.	484.
3524.	Xerxes ſets out to make war againſt the Greeks.	480.
	Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemiſium, at the ſame time as the battle of Thermopylæ.	
	Birth of Euripides.	
	Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Perſia.	
3525.	Battle of Platæa. Sea-fight the ſame day near Mycale, in which the Perſians are defeated.	479.
3526.	The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demoliſhed by Xerxes, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Lacedæmonians.	478.
3528.	The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in poſſeſſion from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.	476.
	Pindar flouriſhed about this time.	
3530.	Pauſanias, general of the Lacedæmonians, accuſed of holding ſecret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.	474.
3531.	Themiſtocles, the Athenian general, is accuſed of having had a ſhare in Pauſanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Moloſſians.	473.
	Sophocles and Euripides appear in Greece about this time.	
3532.	Xerxes is killed by Artabanus, the captain of his guards.	472.
	Artaxerxes, ſirnamed Longimanus, ſucceeds him. Themiſtocles takes refuge in his court the firſt year of his reign.	
3533.	Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Perſians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurimedon.	471.
	Birth of the hiſtorian Thucydides.	
3534.	Great earthquakes at Sparta in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a ſedition of the Helots.	470.
	Birth of Socrates.	
3535.	Beginning of Pericles.	469.
	Phidias, famous for his ſkill in architecture and ſculpture.	
	Difference and miſunderſtanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occaſioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians in ſending back their troops, after having called in their aid againſt the Meſſenians and Helots. Some time after, and in conſequence	

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
	consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.	
3537.	Esdras obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem with all who are willing to follow him.	467.
3538.	Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.	466.
3540.	Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians, called Διαιτητικοι. Hippocrates was his disciple.	464.
3544.	The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.	460.
3545.	Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.	459.
3548.	The Egyptians and Athenians are beaten in their turn. In consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Danarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.	456.
	Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Bœotians.	
3550.	Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem.	454.
3554.	Birth of Xenophon.	450.
	Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years' absence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.	
3555.	End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years.	449.
	Death of Cimon.	
3558.	The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.	446.
	Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time.	
	Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.	
3564.	Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island after a siege of nine months.	440.
	Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus.	
	Parrhasius his rival, lived at the same time.	
	Aristophanes, the comic poet.	
3568.	Birth of Isocrates.	436.
	War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.	
	Scopas, architect and sculptor.	
3573.	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists twenty-seven years.	431.

A terrible

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3574.	A terrible plague rages in Attica. The phyſician Hippocrates diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his extraordinary care of the ſick.	430.
3575.	Death of Pericles.	429.
3576.	The Lacedæmonians beſiege Platæa.	428.
	Pluto, founder of the ancient academy.	
3579.	Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only forty-five days.	425.
	Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death, and cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged king in his ſtead. His reign continues only ſix months.	
3580.	Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, rids himſelf of Sogdianus, and ſucceeds him.	424.
	The Athenians, under Nicias, make themſelves maſters of Cythera.	
	Thucydides is baniſhed by the Athenians, whoſe army he commanded, for having ſuffered Amphipolis to be taken.	
	Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Ποικίλη at Athens, in which he repreſented the principal events of the Trojan war.	
3583.	Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by an impoſture, occaſions its being broke the following year.	421.
3584.	*The baniſhment* of Hyperbolus puts an end to *the Oſtraciſm*.	420.
3588.	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to aſſiſt the people of Egeſta againſt the Syracuſans.	416.
3589.	Alcibiades, one of the generals ſent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens, to anſwer accuſations againſt him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.	415.
3590.	Piſuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts againſt Darius. The Egyptians do the ſame, and chooſe Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns ſix years.	414.
3593.	Alcibiades, to avoid the envy which his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himſelf into the arms of Tiſſaphernes, one of the king of Perſia's ſatraps. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tiſſaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Perſia.	411.
3595.	Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occaſions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been inveſted with ſupreme authority.	409.
	Darius gives Cyrus, his youngeſt ſon, the government in chief of all the provinces of Aſia Minor.	
3598.	Lyſander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Epheſus. In conſequence	406.

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
	conſequence of that defeat Alcibiades is depoſed, and ten generals are nominated to ſucceed him.	
3599.	Callicratidas has the command of the army in the room of Lyſander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a ſea-fight near the Arguniſæ.	405.
	Lyſander is reſtored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægoſpotamus.	
	Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.	
3600.	Lyſander makes himſelf maſter of Athens, changes the form of the government, and eſtabliſhes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty Tyrants.	404.
	End of the Peleponneſian war.	
	Death of Darius Nothus. Arſaces, his ſon, ſucceeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.	
	Cyrus the Younger intends to aſſaſſinate his brother Artaxerxes. His deſign being diſcovered, he is ſent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.	
3601.	Interview of Cyrus the Younger and Lyſander at Sardis.	403.
	Thraſybulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and reeſtabliſhes its liberty.	
3602.	Cyrus the Younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.	402.
3603.	Defeat and death of Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thouſand.	401.
	Death of Socrates.	
3604.	Lacedæmon declares war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus.	400.
3606.	Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.	398.
3607.	Ageſilaus is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks ſettled there.	397.
3609.	Lyſander quarrels with Ageſilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the ſucceſſion to the throne.	395.
	The army of Tiſſaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Ageſilaus.	
3610.	Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league againſt Lacedæmon, at the ſolicitation of the Perſians. Athens enters into the ſame league ſoon after. Ageſilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the aſſiſtance of his country.	394.
	The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabaſus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Perſians and Greeks. Ageſi-	

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	An J. C
	laus defeat the Thebans almoſt at the ſame time in the plains of Coronæa.	
	Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.	
3617.	Peace ſhameful to the Greeks concluded by the Perſians by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian.	387
3618.	Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a ſignal victory over him.	386
	It is followed by the ſiege of Salamin, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.	
3620.	Expedition of Artaxerxes againſt the Caduſians.	384
	Birth of Ariſtotle, founder of the Peripateticks.	
3621.	The Lacedæmonians declare war againſt the city of Olynthus.	383
	Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.	
3622.	Phæbidas, on his way to the ſiege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himſelf maſter of the citadel of Thebes.	382
	Birth of Demoſthenes.	
3626.	Pelopidas, at the head of the reſt of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.	378
3627.	Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for ſome years. He employs above two years in making preparations for that war	377
3629.	Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander his eldeſt ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdiccas aſcends the throne next, and reigns fourteen years.	375
3630.	Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles his ſon ſucceeds him.	374
3634.	Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans under Epaminondas and Pelopidas defeat the Lacedæmonians.	370
3635.	Expedition of Pelopidas againſt Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia to terminate the differences between Perdiccas and Ptolemy ſon of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hoſtage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Pheræ.	369
3641.	Battle of Mantinæa. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having ſecured the victory to the Thebans.	363
3642.	The Lacedæmonians ſend Ageſilaus to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, againſt Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition.	362
	Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his ſon ſucceeds him.	
3644.	Philip aſcends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians.	360

A. M. PERSIANS AND GREEKS. Ant. J. C.

The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's successors. I shall annex to it that of the Parthians, and the kings of Pontus.

3646. War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years. 358.

Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.

3648. Revolt of Artabasus against Ochus king of Persia. 356.

Birth of Alexander the Great.

3649. Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Persia. 355.

Beginning of the sacred war.

3650. Death of Mausolus, king of Caria. 354.

3651. Philip makes himself master of the city of Methone. 353.

3652. Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes. 352.

Philip attempts to seise Thermopylæ in vain.

3653. Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnica, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt. 351.

3654. Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns. 350.

3656. Death of Plato. 348.

Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.

3658. Philip seises Thermopylæ, and part of Phocis. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons. 346.

3662. Oration of Demosthenes, concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of Diopithus. 342.

3665. The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege. 339.

3666. Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatæa. 338.

Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.

Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas, his favourite. Arses, his son, succeeds him, and reigns only three years.

3667. Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudi- 337.

ates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.

3668. Philip's death. Alexander, his son, then twenty year of age, succeeds him. 336

Arses, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas.

Darius Codomanus succeeds him.

3669. Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth. 335

3670. Alexander sets out for Persia. 334

Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.

3671. Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days. 333

Battle of Issus.

3672. Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months. 332

Apelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protogenes were his contemporaries.

Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.

3673. Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. 331

3674. Darius is seised and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted two hundred and six years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great. 330

The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipator defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.

Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracrata.

Philotas and Parmenio, his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.

3675. Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death. 329

Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.

Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.

Lysip-

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
	Lyſippus of Sicyon, a famous ſculptor, flouriſhed about this time.	
3676.	Alexander makes himſelf maſter of the rocky eminence of Oxus.	328.
	Clitus killed by Alexander at a feaſt in Maracanda. The death of Calliſthenes happens ſoon after.	
	Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.	
3677.	Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in paſſing the Hydaſpes.	327.
3678.	On the remonſtrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back.	326.
	The city of Oxydracæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.	
3679.	Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldeſt daughter of Darius.	325.
	Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.	
	Demoſthenes is baniſhed for having received preſents, and ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by Harpalus.	
3680.	Death of Heophæſtion at Ecbatana.	324.
	Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.	
3681.	Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of two-and-thirty years and eight months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his ſtead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas.	323.
	The generals divide the provinces amongſt themſelves. From this diviſion commences the æra of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt.	
	The Athenians revolt, and engage the ſtates of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demoſthenes is recalled from baniſhment.	
3682.	Antipater is beſieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to ſurrender by capitulation. He ſoon after ſeiſes Athens, and puts a garriſon into it.	322.
	Death of Demoſthenes.	
3683.	Alexander's magnificent funeral.	321.
	Perdiccas puts Eumenes into poſſeſſion of Cappadocia.	
	League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, againſt Perdiccas and Eumenes.	
	Death of Craterus.	
	Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater ſucceeds him in the regency of the empire.	
3684.	Eumenes, defeated by Antigonus, ſhuts himſelf up in the caſtle of Nora, where he ſuſtains a ſiege of a year.	320.

Ptolemy

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
	Ptolemy makes himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem.	
3685.	Death of Antipater. Polyſperchon ſucceeds him.	319.
	Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.	
	Caſſander, ſon of Antipater, ſeiſes Athens, and ſettles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.	
3687.	Olympias, the mother of Alexander, cauſes Aridæus, and Eurydice his wife, to be put to death, as ſhe herſelf is ſoon after by order of Caſſander.	317.
3689.	Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own ſoldiers, and put to death.	315.
3691.	Antigonus takes Tyre after a ſiege of fifteen months. Demetrius his ſon, ſirnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear.	313.
3692.	Zeno inſtitutes the ſect of the Stoicks at Athens.	312.
3693.	Selcucus makes himſelf maſter of Babylon, and the neighbouring provinces.	311.
	At this expedition of Seleucus againſt Babylon begins the famous æra of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the æra of contracts.	
	Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him.	
	Caſſander cauſes Roxana, and her ſon Alexander, to be put to death.	
3695.	Polyſperchon puts Hercules, the ſon of Alexander, and his mother, Berenice, to death.	309.
3696.	Ophellas, governor of Libya, revolts againſt Ptolemy.	308.
3698.	Demetrius Poliorcetes makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and re-eſtabliſhes the democratical government. The ſame year he makes himſelf maſter of Salamin, and the whole iſland of Cyprus.	
	Demetrius Phalerus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his ſtatues, and condemn him to death.	
	Antigonus, and his ſon Demetrius, aſſume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the ſame.	
3699.	Antigonus, to make the moſt of his ſon's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not ſucceed.	305.
	Ptolemy the aſtronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, on the 7th of November of this year.	
3700.	Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the ſiege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raiſe a year after.	304.

A. M.	PERSIANS AND GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
3701.	The Rhodians employ the money raiſed by the ſale of the machines, which Demetrius had uſed in the ſiege of their city, and had given them as a preſent, in erecting the famous Coloſſus, called the Coloſſus of Rhodes.	303.
	Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks by the ſtates of Greece aſſembled at the Iſthmus.	
3702.	Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, enter into a league againſt Antigonus, and Demetrius, his ſon.	302.
	Battle of Ipſus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the diviſion of the empire of Alexander amongſt the four allied princes.	
	Argeſilaus, founder of the middle academy.	

There

There is so much connection between the events which happen in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them. For which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDONIA.	THRACE AND BITHYN.	Ant. J. C.
3704.	Ptolemy Soter.	Seleucus Nicator.	Cassander.	Lysimachus.	300.
3707.			Philip and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, dispute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years.		297.
3710.			Demetrius Poliorcetes.		294.
3717.			Pyrrhus and Lysimachus.		287.
3719.	Ptolemy Philadelphus.				285.
3723.			Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.	Lysimachus is killed in a battle. After his death his dominions are dismembered,	281.

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDONIA.	THRACE AND BITHYN.	
				bered, and ceaſe to form a diſtinct kingdom.	
3724.		Antiochus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. His brother Meleager reigned ſome time after him.		280.
3726.			Softhenes.		278.
3728.			Antigonus Gonatas.		276.
3743.		Antiochus Theos.			261.
3758.	Ptolemy Evergetes.	Seleucus Callinicus.			246.
3762.			Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus Gonatas.		242.
3772.			Antigonus Doſon.		232.
3778.		Seleucus Ceraunus.			226.
3781.		Antiochus the Great.			223.
3783.	Ptolemy Philopator.				221.
3784.			Philip.		220.
3800.	Ptolemy Epiphanes.				204.
3817.		Seleucus Philopator.			187.

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDONIA.	Ant. J. C.
3824.	Ptolemy Philometer.			180.
3825.			Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians.	179.
3829.		Antiochus Epiphanes.		175.
3840.		Antiochus Eupator.		164.
3842.		Demetrius Soter.		162.
3854.		Alexander Bala.		150.
3859.	Ptolemy Physcon.	Demetrius Nicator.		145.
3860.		Antiochus Theos, the son of Bala, seises part of Syria. Tryphon does the same soon after.		144.
3864.		Antiochus Sidetes puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his room.		140.
3877.		Zebina succeeds Demetrius Nicator.		127.
3880.		Seleucus, the son of Nicator. Antiochus Grypus.		124.
3887.	Ptolemy Lathyrus.			117.
3890.		Antiochus the Cyzicenian divides the kingdom with Grypus.		114.

A. M.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	Ant. J.C.
3897.	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.		107.
3907.		Seleucus, ſon of Grypus.	97.
3911.		Antiochus Euſebes.	93.
3912.		Antiochus, ſecond ſon of Grypus	92.
3913.		Philip, third ſon of Grypus.	91.
3914.		Demetrius Eucheres, fourth ſon of Grypus.	90.
3919.		Antiochus Dionyſius, fifth ſon of Grypus. The four laſt-named kings reigned ſucceſſively with Euſebes.	85.
3921.		Tigranes, during fourteen years.	83.
3923.	Alexander II. ſon of Alexander I.		81.
3935.		Antiochus Aſiaticus.	69.
3939.	Ptolemy Auletes.		65.
3946.	Berenice, the eldeſt daughter of Auletes, reigns ſome time in his ſtead, after which that prince is reſtored.		58.
3953.	Cleopatra reigns at firſt with her eldeſt brother, then with Ptolemy, her youngeſt brother, and at laſt alone.		51.

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3704.	Seleucus, king of Syria, builds Antioch. Athens refuſes to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.	300.
3707.	Death of Caſſander, king of Macedon. Philip his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only one year, and is ſucceeded by Alexander, his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, eſpouſes Antigone, of the houſe of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Moloſſi.	297.
3709.	Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, almoſt at the ſame time, deprive him of all he poſſeſſed.	295.
3710.	Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who had called him in to his aid, and ſeiſes his dominions, where he reigns ſeven years.	294.
3711.	Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus	293.
3717.	Pyrrhus and Lyſimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miſerably the year following in priſon.	287.
3719.	Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, reſigns the throne to his ſon Ptolemy Philadelphus. Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Phileterrus.	285.
3721.	Demetrius Phalereus is ſhut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himſelf there.	283.
3722.	Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war againſt Lyſimachus, king of Macedonia.	282.
3723.	Lyſimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. He is aſſaſſinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter his ſon ſucceeds him in the kingdom of Syria.	281.
3724.	Ceraunus, to ſecure the kingdom of Macedonia to himſelf, puts the two children of Lyſimachus by Arſinoe to death, and baniſhes her into Samothracia. The republic of the Achæans reſumes its ancient form, which it had loſt under Philip and Alexander. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war againſt the Romans. He gives them battle for the firſt time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his ſide. He is again ſucceſsful in a ſecond battle fought the year following.	280.
3725.	Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother ſucceeds him.	279.
3726.	Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers. Softhenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years. Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos.	278.

Ptolemy

A. M.	SUCCESSORS of ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3727.	Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the holy scriptures to be translated into Greek.	277.
3728.	Death of Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatas, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.	276.
3729.	Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of *Soter*.	275.
3730.	Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus.	274.
	Ptolemy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.	
3732.	Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.	272.
3736.	Antigonus Gonatas makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacædemonians against him.	268.
3739.	Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put Clinias, its governor, to death.	265.
	Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
3741.	Death of Phileterrus, king and founder of Pergamus. Eumenes, his nephew, succeeds him.	263.
3743.	Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after.	261.
	Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.	
3746.	Accommodation between Magus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.	258.
3749.	War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.	255.
3752.	Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league.	252.
3754.	Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time Theodorus, governor of Bactriana, revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.	250.
3755.	Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.	249.

Agis,

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3756.	Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient inſtitutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is depoſed for refuſing to conſent to it. Cleombrotus, his ſon-in-law, reigns in his ſtead.	248.
3757.	Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Evergetes, his ſon, ſucceeds him.	247.
	Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.	
3758.	Antiochus, ſurnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poiſoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards cauſes her ſon Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king.	246.
	Berenice, and her ſon by Antiochus, are aſſaſſinated by Laodice.	
	Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himſelf maſter of great part of Syria.	
3760.	The cities of Smyrna and Magneſia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria againſt Ptolemy Evergetes.	244.
	Aratus makes himſelf maſter of the citadel of Corinth.	
	Leonidas is reſtored at Sparta, Cleombrotus ſent into baniſhment, and Agis put to death.	
3762.	Death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. Demetrius, his ſon, ſucceeds him.	242.
	Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax, his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra, in Galatia.	
3763.	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus, his couſin-german, ſucceeds him.	241.
3765.	Eratoſthenes the Cyrenian is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes.	239.
3771.	Joſeph, nephew of the high-prieſt Onias, is ſent ambaſſador to Ptolemy Evergetes.	233.
3772.	Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, ſon of Demetrius, ſucceeds him.	232.
	Polycletus of Sicyon, a famous ſculptor.	
3774.	Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken priſoner by Arſaces, king of the Parthians.	230.
3776.	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.	228.
3778.	Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongſt the Parthians, of a fall from a horſe. Seleucus Ceraunus, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeds him.	226.
	Antiochus Hierax is aſſaſſinated by thieves, on leaving Egypt.	
	Aratus defeats Ariſtippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lyſiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce	

the

A. M. SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER. Ant. J. C.

the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.

3779. The Romans ſend a famous embaſſy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree, that they ſhall be admitted to a ſhare in the celebration of the Iſthmian games. The Athenians alſo grant them the freedom of Athens. 225.

Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans againſt the Lacedæmonians.

3781. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis. 223.

Battle of Selaſia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.

Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. Antiochus, his brother, ſurnamed *the Great*, ſucceeds him.

3782. The Coloſſus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake. 222.

3783. Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopator ſucceeds him. 221.

The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.

3784. Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted againſt him two years before, the firſt in Media, the ſecond in Perſia. 220.

Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Philip, the ſon of Demetrius, ſucceeds him.

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Ageſipolis and Lycurgus to ſucceed him.

War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.

3785. Hermias, prime miniſter of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders. 219.

3787. Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Antiochus, king of Syria. 217.

Treaty of peace between Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Achæans on one ſide, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.

3788. Antiochus beſieges Achæus, who had revolted in Sardis, and, after a ſiege of two years, he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan. 216.

Hannibal's alliance with Philip, king of Macedonia.

3789. Philip receives a conſiderable blow from the Romans at the ſiege of Appollonia. 215.

3790. Carneades, founder of the new academy. 214.

3792. Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the ſpace of ſeven years. 212.

Alliance

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3793.	Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some short time after.	211.
3796.	Famous battle betwee . Philip king of Macedonia and the Ætolians near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.	208.
3798.	Battle of Mantinæa, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.	206.
3800.	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it. Polybius is said to have been born this year. Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.	204.
3801.	League between Philip of Macedon and Antiochus, king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.	203.
3802.	Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chio. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year.	202.
3803.	Philip besieges and takes Abydos.	201.
3804.	The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedonia.	200.
3805.	Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flaminius is sent to succeed Villicus.	199.
3806.	Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœlosyria. The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.	198.
3807.	Interview of Philip and the consul Flaminius. Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same. Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him. Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.	197.
3808.	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war. Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded. Conspiracy of Scopas, the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.	196.
3809.	Flaminius makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.	195.
3813.	Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.	191.

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
	The Ætolians resolve to seise Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem. Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league. Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.	
3814.	Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years. The philosopher Panætius was born about this time.	190.
3815.	The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time, subjects all the Gauls in Asia. The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopœmen, happened this year.	189.
3817.	Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.	187.
3821.	Philopœmen is taken before Messene, by Dinocrates, and put to death.	183.
3823.	Demetrius, son of Philip, king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.	181.
3824.	Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometer succeeds him.	180.
3825.	Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. Perseus his son succeeds him.	179.
3829.	Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.	175.
3830.	Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.	174.
3833.	War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometer. The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.	171.
3834.	Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard of cruelties.	170.
3835.	The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Evergetes, his younger brother, king. Philometer is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.	169.
3836.	Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince	168.

prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire till twenty years after.

The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days.

Popilius, one of the ambaſſadors ſent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.

Antiochus, exaſperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage againſt the Jews, and ſends Apollonius to Jeruſalem.

The ſame year he publiſhes a decree to oblige all nations in ſubjection to him to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occaſions a cruel perſecution amongſt the Jews.

3837. Antiochus goes in perſon to Jeruſalem, to ſee his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time. 167.

Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perſeus's part. The Achæans, ſuſpected of having favoured that prince, are ſent to Rome, to give an account of their conduct. The ſenate banith them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not ſuffered to return home till ſeventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.

3838. Pruſias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it. 166.

Death of Mattathias. Judas, his ſon, ſucceeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.

3840. Antiochus Epiphanes is repulſed before Elymais, where he intends to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with deſign to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God ſtrikes him on the way, and he dies in the moſt exquiſite torments. Antiochus Eupator, his ſon, ſucceeds him. 164.

3841. Antiochus Eupator marches againſt Jeruſalem. He is ſoon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himſelf maſter of his capital. 163.

3842. Differences between Philometor, king of Egypt, and Phyſcon his brother, which do not terminate till after the expiration of five years. 162.

Octavius, ambaſſador for the Romans in Syria, is aſſaſſinated.

Demetrius Soter, the ſon of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hoſtage, to Syria, where he cauſes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and ſeiſes the throne.

3843. Death of Judas Maccabæus. 161.

3844. Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans. 160.

Death

A. M.	SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.	Ant. J. C.
3845.	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometer succeeds him.	159.
3848.	War between Attalus and Prusias.	156.
3851.	Alexander Bala pretends himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.	153.
3852.	Andriscus of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.	152.
3854.	Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.	150.
3856.	Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.	148.
3857.	Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.	147.
3858.	Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him, and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it.	146.

Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the name of the province of Achaia.

A. M.		Ant. J. C.

The ſequel of the hiſtory of the kings of Syria is much embroiled, for which reaſon I ſhall ſeparate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.

SYRIA.

3899.	Demetrius Nicator, ſon of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and aſcends the throne.		145.
3860.		Antiochus, ſirnamed Theos, ſon of Bala, ſupported by Tryphon, makes himſelf maſter of part of the kingdom. Tryphon gets Jonathan into his hands, and puts him to death at Ptolemais. The year following he murders his pupil Antiochus, and ſeiſes the kingdom of Syria.	144.
3863.	Demetrius marches againſt the Parthians. After ſome ſmall advantages he is taken priſoner.		141.
3864.		Antiochus Sidetes, the ſecond ſon of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to death, he is declared king himſelf.	140.

A. M.		Ant. J. C.

EGYPT.

3859.	Death of Ptolemy Philometer, Ptolemy Physcon, His brother succeeds him.	145.

3866.	Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Attalus, his nephew, surnamed Philometer, succeeds him. He reigns five years.	138.

A. M.	SYRIA.	Ant. J. C.
3869.	Antiochus Sidetes beſieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jeruſalem, and takes the city by capitulation.	135.
3873.	Antiochus marches againſt the Parthians, and gains many advantages over them. They ſend back Demetrius the year following.	131.
3874. Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.		130.
3877. Demetrius is killed by Alexander Zebina, who takes his place, and cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged king of Syria.		127.
3880. Seleucus V. eldeſt ſon of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and ſoon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus ſucceeds him.		124.
3882.	Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies ſoon after.	122.

A. M.	EGYPT.	Ant. J. C.
3868.	The cruelties of Phyſcon at Alexandria oblige moſt of the inhabitants to quit the place.	136.
3871.	Attalus Philometer, king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. Andronicus ſeiſes them.	133.
3874.	The conſul Perpenna defeats Andronicus, and ſends him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman Province by Manius Aquilius.	130.
	Phyſcon repudiates Cleopatra, his firſt wife, and marries his daughter of the ſame name. He is ſoon after obliged to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.	
3877.	Phyſcon re-aſcends the throne of Egypt.	127.
3882.	Phyſcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, king of Syria.	122.

A. M.	SYRIA.	Ant. J. C.
3884.	Cleopatra attempts to poiſon Grypus, and is poiſoned herſelf.	120.
3890.	Antiochus, the Cyzicenian, ſon of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetus, takes arms againſt Grypus. He has the worſt in the beginning; but in two years obliges his brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him.	114.
3907.	Death of Grypus. Seleucus his ſon ſucceeds him.	97.
3910.	Antiochus the Cyzicenian is defeated, and put to death.	94.
3911.	Seleucus is defeated by Euſebes, and burnt in Mopſueſtia.	93.
	Antiochus Euſebes, the ſon of the Cyzicenian, cauſes himſelf to be declared king. He marries Selena, the widow of Grypus.	

A. M.	EGYPT.	Ant. J. C.
3887.	Death of Phyſcon. Ptolemy Lathyrus ſucceeds him. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldeſt ſiſter, and to marry Selena, his youngeſt.	117
3891.	Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngeſt ſon.	113.
3897.	Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne.	107.
3900.	Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander, king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan.	104.
3901.	Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raiſe the ſiege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herſelf.	103.
3903.	Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyzicenian.	101.

A. M.	SYRIA.		Ant. J. C.
3912.	Antiochus, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes.		92
3913.	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.		91
3914.	Demetrius Eucheres, fourth son of Grypus, is established king at Damascus by the aid of Lathyrus.		90
3916.		Eusebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who re-establish him upon the throne two years after.	88
3919.	Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year.		8
3921.	The Syrians, weary of so many changes, choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroy.	Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.	8

A. M.	EGYPT.	Ant. J. C.
3915.	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.	89.
3916.	Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after. Lathyrus is recalled.	88.
3922.	Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels he had before defeated had taken refuge.	82.
3923.	Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.	81.

3935. Tigranes recalls Magdalus, his viceroy in Syria. 69.

Antiochus Asiaticus takes possession of some parts of Syria, and reigns four years.

3939. Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province. 65.

A. M.	EGYPT.	Ant. J. C.
3928.	Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His kingdom is reduced into a Roman province; as is Cyrenaica the ſame year.	76.
3939.	Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes, Lathyrus's natural ſon, is ſet in his place.	65.
3946.	The Romans depoſe Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and ſeize that Iſland. Cato is charged with that commiſſion.	58.
	Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldeſt of his daughters, is declared queen in his ſtead.	
3949.	Gabinius and Antony reſtore Auletes to the entire poſſeſſion of his dominions.	55.
3953.	Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldeſt ſon and daughter, the famous Cleopatra.	51.
3956.	Pothinus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her ſhare in the government, and drive her out of Egypt.	48.
3957.	Death of the king of Egypt. Cæſar places Cleopatra upon the throne with Ptolemy, her youngeſt brother.	47.
3961.	Cleopatra poiſons her brother when he comes of age to ſhare the ſovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri.	43.
3963.	Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarſus, in Cilicia. She gains the aſcendant of him, and carries him with her to Alexandria.	41.
3971.	Antony makes himſelf maſter of Armenia, and brings the king priſoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children.	33.
	Rupture between Cæſar and Antony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.	
3973.	Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæſar.	31.
3974.	Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra.	30.
	Cæſar makes himſelf maſter of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herſelf. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.	

A. M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3644.	Ariarathes I. was the firſt king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes.		360.
3668.	Ariarathes II. ſon of the firſt. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who ſets Eumenes on the throne.		336.
3689.	Ariarathes III. aſcends the throne of Cappadocia, after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes.		315.
3720.	Ariamnes.		284.
3754.	Ariarathes IV.	Arſaces I. founder of the Parthian empire. Arſaces II. brother of the firſt. Priapatius. Phraates I.	250.
3814.	Ariarathes V.		190.

A. M.	PONTUS.	Ant. J. C.
3490.	The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the firſt king of it. His ſucceſſors, down to Mithridates, are little known.	514.
3600.	Mithridates I. He is commonly conſidered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.	404.
3638.	Ariobarzanes. He reigns twenty-ſix years.	366.
3667.	Mithridates II. He reigns thirty-five years.	337.
3702.	Mithridates III. Reigns thirty-ſix years. The reigns of the three kings who ſucceed him include the ſpace of a hundred years. The laſt of them was Mithridates IV. great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great.	302.
3819.	Pharnaces, ſon of Mithridates IV.	185

A. M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3840.		Mithridates I.	164.
3842.	Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopator.		162.
3873.		Phraates II.	131.
3875.	Ariarathes VII.	Artabanus. After a very short reign he is succeeded by Mithridates II. who reigns forty years.	129.
3913.	Ariarathes VIII. Mithridates, king of Pontus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after Ariarathes IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is presently after re-established by his father.		91.
3914	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		90.
3915.	Tigranes, king of Armenia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and re-instates the son of Mithridates.		89.
		Mnaschires, and after him Sinatroces. These two princes reign about twenty years.	

A. M. PONTUS. Ant. J. C.

Mithridates V. ſurnamed Evergetes.

3881. Mithridates VI. ſurnamed the Great. 123.

3913. Mithridates ſeiſes Cappadocia, and makes his ſon king of it. 91.

3915. Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the Romans. 89.

3916. Mithridates cauſes all the Romans in Aſia Minor to be maſſacred in one day. 88.

Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, ſeiſes Athens, and moſt of the cities of Greece.

A. M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3926.	Sylla obliges Mithridates to reſtore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes diſpoſſeſſes him of it a ſecond time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey re-inſtates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very ſhort one of his ſon, continue down to about the year 3953.		78.
3935.		Phraates III. who affumes the furname of *the Good*.	69.

A. M.	PONTUS.	Ant. J. C.
3917.	Sylla is charged with the war againſt Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long ſiege.	87.
3918.	Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Chæronea. He gains a ſecond battle ſoon after at Orchomenes.	86.
3920.	Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war.	84.
3921.	Mithridates puts his ſon to death. Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It ſubſiſts ſomething leſs than three years.	83.
3928.	Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius.	76.
3929.	Beginning of the third war of Mithridates againſt the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army.	75.
3930.	Cotta is defeated by ſea and land, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid	74.
3931.	Mithridates forms the ſiege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raiſe it at the end of two years, and purſues and beats him near the Granicus.	73.
3933.	Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cebiræ. He retires to Tigranes.	71.
3934.	Lucullus declares war againſt Tigranes, and ſoon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia.	70.
3936	Lucullus defeates Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arſamia.	68.
3937.	Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in effect of the miſunderſtandings that take place in the Roman army.	67.

A. M.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMPIRE.	Ant. J. C.
3948.		Mithridates, eldeſt ſon of Phraates.	56.
3950.		Orodes. Unfortunate expedition of Craſſus againſt the Parthians.	54.
3953.	Ariobarzanes III. He is put to death by Caſſius.		51.
3962.	Ariarathes X.		42.
		Ventidius, general of the Romans, gains a victory over the Parthians, which retrieves the honour they had loſt at the battle of Carræ.	
3973.	M. Antony drives Ariarathes out of Cappadocia, and ſets Archelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happened in the year of the world 4022, Cappadocia was reduced into a Roman province.		31.

A. M.	PONTUS.	Ant. J. C.
3938.	Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.	66.
	Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.	
3939.	Pompey makes himself master of Caina, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up.	65.
	Death of Mithridates. Pharnaces his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.	

A. M.	SYRACUSE.	Ant. J. C.
	Syracuſe is ſaid to have been founded in the year of the world 3295, before Chriſt 709.	
3520.	Gelon's beginning.	484.
3525.	Gelon is elected king of Syracuſe. He reigns five or ſix years.	479.
3532.	Hiero I. He reigns eleven years.	472.
3543.	Thraſybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his ſubjects.	461.
3544.	The Syraeuſans enjoy their liberty during ſixty years.	460.
3589.	The Athenians, aſſiſted by the people of Segeſta, undertake the ſiege of Syracuſe under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raiſe it at the end of two years. The Syraeuſans purſue and defeat them entirely.	415.
3593.	Beginning of Dionyſius the Elder.	411.
3598.	Donyſius, after having depoſed the aneient magiſtrates of Syraeuſe, is placed at the head of the new ones, and ſoon after cauſes himſelf to be declared generaliſſimo.	406.
3600.	Revolt of the Syraeuſans againſt Dionyſius upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracuſans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuſe is to continue in ſubjection to Dionyſius. He eſtabliſhes the tyranny into his own perſon.	404.
	New troubles at Syracuſe againſt Dionyſius. He finds means to put an end to them.	

A. M.	CARTHAGE.	Ant. J. C.
	Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158, before Chriſt 846.	
3501.	Firſt treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in poſſeſſion of part of it when it was concluded. But what year they did ſo is not known.	503.
3520.	The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.	484.
3523.	The Carthaginians, under Amilcar, attack the Greeks ſettled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.	481.
3592.	The Carthaginians ſend troops under Hannibal to aid the people of Segeſta againſt the Syracuſans.	412.
3595.	Hannibal and Imilcon are ſent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the ſiege of Agrigentum.	409.
3600.	The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracuſans.	404.

A. M.	SYRACUSE.	Ant. J. C.
3605	Dionyſius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.	399.
3607.	Maſſacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionyſius cauſed to be ſignified to them by a herald, whom he diſpatched to Carthage.	397.
3615.	Dionyſius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himſelf maſter of it again by force.	389.
3632.	Death of Dionyſius the Elder. His ſon Dionyſius the Younger ſucceeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he cauſes Plato to come to his court. Dion, baniſhed by the order of Dionyſius, retires into Peloponneſus.	372.
3643.	Dionyſius makes Arete his ſiſter, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion reſolve to attack the tyrant with open force.	361.
3644.	Dion obliges Dionyſius to abandon Syracuſe. He ſets ſail for Italy.	360.
3646.	Callippus cauſes Dion to be aſſaſſinated, and makes himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, where he reigns about thirteen months.	358.
3647.	Hipparinus, brother of Dionyſius the Younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuſe, and eſtabliſhes himſelf in his place for two years.	357.
3654	Dionyſius re-inſtated.	350.
3656.	The Syracuſans call in Timoleon to their aid.	348.
3657.	Dionyſius is forced by Timoleon to ſurrender himſelf, and to retire to Corinth.	347.
3658.	Timoleon aboliſhes tyranny at Syracuſe, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he re-inſtates.	346.
3685.	Agathocles makes himſelf tyrant of Syracuſe.	319.

A. M. CARTHAGE. Ant. J. C.

3607. Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war againſt Dionyſius. It ſubſiſts four or five years. 397.

3654. Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians. 350.

3656. The Carthaginians make a new attempt to ſeiſe Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, ſent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracuſans. 348.

Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forms the deſign of making himſelf maſter of his country.

3672. Embaſſy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid againſt Alexander the Great. 332.

3685. Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa. 319.

A. M.	SYRACUSE.	Ant. J. C.
3724.	A Roman legion ſeiſes Rhegium by treachery.	280.
3729.	Hiero and Artemidorus are made ſupreme magiſtrates by the Syracuſan troops.	275.
3736.	Hiero is declared king of the Syracuſans.	268.
3741.	Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines againſt the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at firſt againſt him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.	263.
3763.	Hiero ſends the Carthaginians aid againſt the foreign mercenaries.	241.
3786.	Hiero goes to meet the conſul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his ſervices againſt the Carthaginians.	218.

A. M.	CARTHAGE.	Ant. J. C.
3727.	The Carthaginians ſend the Romans aid under Mago againſt Pyrrhus.	277.
3741.	Beginning of the firſt Punic war with the Romans. It ſubſiſts twenty-four years.	263.
3743.	The Romans beſiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a ſiege of ſeven months.	261.
3745.	Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians near the coaſt of Myle.	259.
3749.	Sea-fight near Ecnome in Sicily.	255.
3750.	Regulus in Africa. He is taken priſoner. Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.	254.
3755.	Regulus is ſent to Rome to propoſe the exchange of priſoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the moſt cruel torments.	249.
3756.	Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans	248.
3763.	Defeat of the Carthaginians near the iſlands Ægates, followed by a treaty, that puts an end to the firſt Punic war.	241.
	War of Lybia againſt the foreign mercenaries. It ſubſiſts three years and four months.	
3767.	The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents.	237.
3776.	Amilcar is killed in Spain. Aſdrubal, his ſon-in-law, ſucceeds him in the command of the army. Hannibal is ſent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Aſdrubal.	228.
3784.	Aſdrubal's death. Hannibal is made general of the army in his ſtead.	220.
3786.	Siege of Saguntum. Beginning of the ſecond Punic war, which ſubſiſts ſeventeen years.	218.
3787.	Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinus and Trebia.	217.

3789. Death of Hiero. Hieronymus, his grandſon, ſucceeds him. 215.

Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is aſſaſſinated ſoon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuſe.

3792. Marcellus takes Syracuſe, after a ſiege of three years. 212.

A. M.	CARTHAGE.	Ant. J. C.
3788.	Battle of Thrafymenus. Hannibal deceives Fabius at the Straits of Caffilinum. Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.	216.
2789.	Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle.	215.
3790.	Afdrubal is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios.	214.
3793.	The two Scipios are killed in Spain. The Romans befiege Capua.	211.
3794.	Hannibal advances to Rome, and befieges it. The Romans foon after take Capua.	210.
3798.	Afdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the conful Livius, whom the other conful Nero had joined.	206.
3799.	Scipio makes himfelf maſter of all Spain. He is made conful the year following, and goes to Africa.	205.
3802.	Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.	202.
3803.	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory.	201.
3804.	Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the fecond Punic war. Fifty years elapfed between the end of the fecond and the beginning of the third Punic war.	200.
3810.	Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of juſtice and the finances. After having exercifed that office two years, he retires to king Antiochus at Ephefus, whom he adviſes to carry the war into Italy.	194.
3813.	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephefus.	191.
3816.	Hannibal takes refuge in the iſland of Crete, to avoid being delivered up to the Romans.	188.
3820.	Hannibal abandons the iſland of Crete, to take refuge with Prufias, king of Bithynia.	184.
3822.	Death of Hannibal.	182.
3823.	The Romans fend commiſſions into Africa, to adjudge the differences that aroſe between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa.	181.

Second

A. M.	CARTHAGE.	Ant. J. C.
3848.	Second embaſſy ſent by the Romans into Africa, to make new inquiries into the differences ſubſiſting between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa.	156.
3855.	Beginning of the third Punic war. It ſubſiſts a little more than four years.	149.
3856.	Carthage is beſieged by the Romans.	148.
3858.	Scipio the younger is made conſul, and receives the command of the army before Carthage.	146.
3859.	Scipio takes and entirely demoliſhes Carthage.	145.

END OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

GENERAL

INDEX

OF THE MATTERS CONTAINED IN

THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

A.

ABANTIDAS makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, VII. 292.

Abas, king of Argos, III. 11.

Abdolonymus is placed upon the throne of Sidon againſt his will, VI. 71. his anſwer to Alexander, 72

Abelox, a Spaniard, his treachery, II. 75.

Abradates, king of Suſiana, engages in Cyrus's ſervice, II. 277. he is killed in the battle of Thrymbræa, 295

Abraham goes to Egypt with Sarah, I. 233. the Scripture places him very near Nimrod; and why, II. 182.

Abrocomas, one of the generals of Artaxerxes Mnemon's army, marches againſt Cyrus the Younger, IV. 172.

Abſalom, brother of Alexander Jannæus, IX. 264. he is taken priſoner at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, *ibid.*

Abutites, governor of Suſa, for Darius, ſurrenders that place to Alexander, VI. 139. he is continued in his goverment, 140.

Abydos, a city of Aſia, beſieged by Philip, VIII. 131, &c. tragical end of that city, 134

Academy, founded at Alexandria, under the name of Muſæum, VII. 172.

Acarnanians, people of Greece, their courage, VIII. 77.

Accius. See Attius.

Achæans, ſettled by Achæus in Peloponneſus, III. 16. inſtitution of their commonwealth, VII. 290. their government, cities, of which the Achæan league is formed at firſt, *ibid.* ſeveral cities join it afterwards, 294. chiefs who rendered that republic ſo flouriſhing, VIII. 88. The Achæans enter into a war with Sparta, VII. 333. after many loſſes they call in Antigonus to their aid, 340. in a war with the Ætolians they have recourſe to Philip, VIII. 45. they declare for the Romans againſt that prince, 164. they join with the Romans againſt Antiochus, 233. their cruel treatment of many Spartans, 288. they ſubject the Meſſenians, 326. they ſend deputies to Rome concerning

concerning Sparta, 329. Callicrates, one of their deputies, betrays them, 330, &c.
The Achæans resolve to share with the Romans in the dangers of the war against Perseus, IX. 42. they are suspected by the Romans, 108. cruel treatment of them by the Romans, 110, &c. troubles in Achaia, 133. the Achæans declare war against the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* they insult the Roman commissioners, 134. they engage Thebes and Calchis to join them, 156. they are defeated by Metellus, 137. and after by Mummius, 138, &c. Achaia is reduced into a Roman province. 141
Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, III. 170
Achæmenes, brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is placed at the head of the army sent by that prince against Egypt, III. 290. he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*
Achæus, son of Xuthus, founder of the Achæans, III. 17
Achæus, cousin of Seleucus Ceraunus, has the administration of the affairs of Egypt, VIII. 2. he avenges the death of that prince, *ibid.* he refuses the crown, and preserves it for Antiochus the Great, 3. his fidelity to that prince, *ibid.* he revolts against Antiochus, 13. his power, *ibid.* he is betrayed, and delivered up to Antiochus, and put to death, 25
Achaia, so called from Achæus. See Achæans, III. 17
Acharnians, comedy of Aristophanes; extract from it, I. 110.
Achillas, young Ptolemy's guardian, X. 176. he assassinates Pompey, 178. he is put to death, 184
Achoris, king of Egypt, IV. 259.
Achradina, one of the quarters of the city of Syracuse, description of it, IV. 51
Acichorius, general of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Macedonia, VII. 200. then into Greece, *ibid.* he perishes there, 204
Acilius (Manius) is appointed to command in Greece against Antiochus, VIII. 234. he defeats that prince near Thermopylæ, 238. he subjects the Ætolians, 241, &c.
Acilius, a young Roman, his stratagem to make Perseus quit his asylum, IX. 80
Acrisius, king of Argos, III. 11
Acrotates, son of Areus king of Sparta, VII. 240. valour of that young prince 243
Actium, city famous for Antony's defeat, X. 210
Ada continued in the government of Caria, after the death of Idrieus her husband, VI. 35
Adherbal, general of the Carthaginians, defeats the Romans at sea, II. 21
Adimantes is appointed general of the Athenians after the battle of Arginusæ, IV. 127. by what means he escapes death after his defeat at Ægospotamos. 137
Admetus, king of the Molossians, gives Themistocles refuge, III. 257. he is intimidated by the Athenians, and sends him away, III. 274
Admetus, officer in Alexander's army, VI. 86
Adonis Feasts celebrated in honour of him at Athens, IV. 38
Adore. Etymology of that word, II. 225
Æacidas, son of Arymbas, king of Epirus, is driven out of his dominions by the intrigues of Philip king of Macedonia, V. 294. he re-ascends the throne *ibid.*
Æacides, king of Epirus, is banished by his own subjects, VII. 64.

Ægeus, king of Athens, III. 13
Ægina, little iſland near Athens, III. 151
Ægoſpotamos, famous for Lyſander's victory over the Athenians, IV. 134
Ægyptus, name given Seſoſtris, I. 236
Æneas, ſuppoſed by Virgil contemporary with Dido, I. 301
Ænobarbus (Domitius) conſul, declares for Anthony, and retires to him, X. 205
Æolus, ſon of Hellenus, reigns in Theſſaly, III. 16
Æſchines, Athenian orator, ſuffers himſelf to be corrupted by Philip's gold. V. 283, &c. he accuſes Demoſthenes, 325. he is caſt, and retires into baniſhment, 326
Æſop the Phrygian: His hiſtory, III. 88. he goes to the court of Crœſus, 89. he is ſuppoſed to have been the inventor of fables, 90
Ætolia, one of the principal parts of Greece, III. 3
Ætolians. War of the Ætolians againſt the Achæans and Philip, VIII. 28. treaty of peace between them, 67. the Ætolians join the Romans againſt Philip, 75. they make peace with that prince, 118. they declare againſt him for the Romans, 168. they condemn the treaty made between Philip and the Romans, 183. they form a reſolution to ſeiſe Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon by treachery, 224. they call in the aid of Antiochus againſt the Romans, 228. they offer to ſubmit to the Romans, 243. and cannot obtain peace, 246, 247. the ſenate, at the requeſt of the Athenians and Rhodians, grant it them, 284. cruel treatment of them by the Romans, IX. 106, &c.
Africa, diſcovered by the care of Nechao, I. 256. Hanno ſails round it by order of the ſenate, 292. fertility of Africa, 300
Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, III. 12
Agariſta, wife of Megacles. Her father's conduct in chooſing her a huſband, III. 61.
Agathocles ſeiſes the tyranny of Syracuſe, I. 328. his expeditions againſt the Carthaginians in Sicily and Africa, 329. he brings over Ophellas to his ſide, and then puts him to death, 338. miſerable end of that tyrant, 359
Agathocles, governor of Parthia for Antiochus, VII. 263
Agathocles, brother of Agathoclea, VIII. 26. his aſcendant over Ptolemy Philopator, *ibid.* his meaſures for obtaining the tuition of Ptolemy Epiphanes 126. he periſhes miſerably, *ibid.*
Agathoclea, concubine of Ptolemy Philopator, VIII. 26. miſerable end of that woman, 126
Agelas of Naupactus, ambaſſador from the allies to Philip. Wiſdom of his diſcourſe VIII. 65, &c
Ageſilaus is elected king of Sparta, IV. 217. his education and character, *ibid.* he ſets out for Aſia, 221. he differs with Lyſander, 225. his expeditions in Aſia, 228, &c. Sparta appoints him generaliſſimo by ſea & land, 232. he commiſſions Piſander to command the fleet in his ſtead, *ibid.* his interview with Pharnabaſus, 234. the Ephori recall him to the aid of his country, 240. his ready obedience, *ibid.* he gains a victory over the Thebans at Coronæa, in which he is wounded, 245. he returns to Sparta, 247. he always retains his ancient manners, *ibid.* he diſcovers the conſpiracy formed by

by Lyſander, 248. different expeditions of Ageſilaus in Greece 249. he cauſes his brother Teleutias to be appointed admiral, *ibid.* Sphodrias is acquitted by his means, V. 134. Antalcides rallies him upon his being wounded by the Thebans, 135. diſpute between Ageſilaus and Epaminondas in the aſſembly of the allies of Sparta, 138. he cauſes war to be declared againſt the Thebans, 139. he finds means to ſave thoſe who had fled from the battle of Leuctra, 145. his conduct in the two irruptions of the Thebans into the territory of Sparta, 147. Sparta ſends aid to Tachos, king of Egypt, who had revolted againſt Perſia, 190. actions of Ageſilaus in Egypt, 191. he declares for Nectanebis againſt Tacos, 192. he dies on his return to Sparta, 193

Ageſilaus, uncle on the mother's ſide to Agis king of Sparta, VII. 315. he abuſes that prince's confidence, 316. violence which he commits when one of the Ephori, 321. he is wounded and left for dead, 324.

Ageſipolis king of Sparta with Ageſilaus, V. 116. difference between thoſe two kings, *ibid.* he commands the army ſent againſt Olynthus, 120. his death, *ibid.*

Ageſipolis reigns at Sparta with Lycurgus, VIII. 37. he is dethroned by Lycurgus, 197. he retires to the camp of the Romans, *ibid.*

Ageſiſtrata, mother of Agis king of Sparta, VII. 32. her death, 329

Agiatis, widow of Agis, king of Sparta, is forced by Leonidas to marry Cleomenes, VII. 330. death of that princeſs, 345.

Agis I. ſon of Euryſthenes, king of Sparta, enſlaves the inhabitants of Elos, . I. 136.

Agis II. ſon of Archidamus, king of Sparta, IV. 49. he makes war againſt the people of Elis, 216. he acknowledges Leotychides for his ſon at his death, 217

Agis III. ſon of another Archidamus king of Sparta, commands the army of the Lacedæmonians againſt the Macedonians, and is killed in a battle, VI. 162

Agis IV. ſon of Eudamidas, reigns at Sparta, VII. 311. he endeavours to revive the ancient inſtitutions of Lycurgus, 315. he effects it in part, *ibid.* &c. only Ageſilaus prevents the final execution of that deſign, 321. he is ſent to aid the Achæans againſt the Ætolians, 322. on his return to Sparta he finds a total change there, 323. he is condemned to die, and executed, 328, &c.

Agonothetæ, a name given to thoſe who preſided in the public games of Greece, I. 68.

Agriculture. Eſteem the ancients had for it, eſpecially in Egypt, I. 219. in Perſia, II. 389. and in Sicily, III. 347

Agrigentum. Foundation of that city, VI. 31. it is ſubjected firſt by the Carthaginians, I. 316. and afterwards by the Romans, II. 4

Agron, prince of Illyria, VII. 306

Ahaſuerus, name given by the Scripture to Aſtyages, as alſo to Cambyſes and Darius. See the names of the laſt two.

Ahaz, king of Judah, becomes vaſſal and tributary to Tiglathpileſar, II. 204

Albanians. Situation of their country, X. 171. they are defeated by Pompey, *ibid.*

Alcæus, ſon of Perſeus, king of Mycenæ, and father of Amphitryon, III. 11

Alcæus, Greek poet, III. 78
Alcetas king of the Molossians, great-grandfather both of Pyrrhus and Alexander the Great, V. 258
Alcibiades. When very young he carries the prize of valour in the battle against the Potidæans, III. 331. character of that Athenian, IV. 17. his intimacy with Socrates, 18. his convertibility of genius, 21. his passion for ruling alone, 22
Alcibiades begins to appear at Athens, IV. 17. his artifice for breaking the treaty with Sparta, 24. he engages the Athenians in the war with Sicily, 26. he is elected general with Nicias and Lamachus, 32. he is accused of having mutilated the statues of Mercury, 39. he sets out for Sicily, without having been able to bring that affair to a trial, 40. he takes Catana by surprise, 45. he is recalled by the Athenians to be tried upon an accusation. *ibid.* he flies and is condemned to die for contumacy, 46. he retires to Sparta, 48. he debauches Timæa, the wife of Agis, and has a son by her, 49. he advises the Lacedæmonians to send Gylippus to the aid of Syracuse, 55
Alcibiades retires to Tissaphernes, IV. 96. his credit with that satrap, *ibid.* his return to Athens is concerted, 99. he is recalled, 101. he beats the Lacedæmonian fleet, 107. he goes to Tissaphernes who causes him to be seized and carried prisoner to Sardis, *ibid.* he escapes out of prison, *ibid.* he defeats Mindarus and Pharnabasus by sea and land the same day, 108. he returns in triumph to Athens, 110. and is declared generalissimo, 112. he causes the great mysteries to be celebrated, 113. he sets sail with the fleet, 114. Thrasybulus accuses him at Athens of having occasioned the defeat of the fleet near Ephesus, 118. the command is taken from him, *ibid.* he comes to the Athenian generals at Ægospotamos, 134. the advice he gives them, 135. he retires into the province of Pharnabasus, 150. that satrap causes him to be assassinated, *ibid.* his character, 151, &c.
Alcibiades, one of the Spartan exiles, is re-instated by the Achæans, and sent deputy to Rome with complaints against them, VIII. 314. the Achæans condemn him to die, 317. they soon after annul that sentence, 321
Alcimus is placed at the head of Demetrius Soter's army against the Jews, IX. 179.
Alcmæon, III. 61
Alcmæonidæ expelled Athens by Pisistratus, III. 63. they take the care of building the new temple of Delphi upon themselves, 67. their end in that undertaking, *ibid.*
Alcyonæus, son of Antigonus carries the head of Pyrrhus to his father, VII. 249
Alexamenes is sent by the Ætolians to seize Sparta, VIII. 224. his avarice occasions the miscarriage of that design, 225. he is killed in Sparta, *ibid.*
Alexander, young Lacedæmonian, puts out one of Lycurgus's eyes, III. 27. Lycurgus's manner of being revenged of him, *ibid.*
Alexander I. son of Amyntas I. king of Macedon, avenges the affront his mother and sisters had received from the Persian ambassadors, III. 130. he makes propositals of peace to the Athenians from the Persians, 223. he gives the Greeks intelligence

of the design of the Persians, 230
Alexander II. son of Amyntas II. reigns in Macedonia, and dies at the end of one year, V. 159
Alexander III. surnamed the Great, son of Philip. His birth, V. 258. happy inclinations of that prince, VI. 3. he has Aristotle for his præceptor, 4. Alexander's esteem and affection for that philosopher, 5. he breaks Bucephalus, 10
Alexander ascends the throne of Macedonia, VI. 12. he reduces and subjects the people bordering upon his kingdom, who had revolted, 13. he enters Greece to dissolve the league which had been formed against him, 14. he defeats the Thebans in a great battle, 15. and takes their city which he destroys, 17. he pardons the Athenians, 18. he summons a diet at Corinth, and causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians, 19. he returns into Macedonia, 21. and makes preparations for his expedition against the Persians, 23. he appoints Antipater to govern Macedonia as his viceroy, 24.
Alexander sets out for Asia VI. 25. arrives at Ilium, where he renders great honours to the memory of Achilles, 26. he passes the Granicus, and gains a great victory over the Persians, 29. he besieges and takes Miletas, 33. then Halicarnassus, 34. and conquers almost all Asia Minor, 36. he takes the city of Gordium where he cuts the famous Gordian knot, 38. he passes the straits of Cilicia, 40. he arrives at Tarsus, where he has a dangerous illness, occasioned by bathing in the river Cydnus, *ibid.* he is cured of it in a few days, 44. he marches against Darius, and gains a famous victory over that prince near Issus, 50. &c. tired with pursuing Darius, he comes to that prince's camp, which his troops had just before seised, 61. Alexander's humanity and respect for Sysigambis, and the other captive princesses, 65
Alexander enters Syria, VI. 66. the treasures laid up in Damascus are delivered to him, *ibid.* Darius writes him a letter in the most haughty terms, 68. he answers it in the same style, 69. the city of Sidon opens its gates to him, 70. he besieges Tyre, 73, &c. after a long siege he takes that place by storm, 86. he receives a second letter from Darius, 96. he marches to Jerusalem, 97. honours paid by him to the high priest Jaddus, 100. he enters Jerusalem and offers sacrifices there, 101. Daniel's prophecies relating to him are shown him, *ibid.* he grants great privileges to the Jews, 107. and refuses the same to the Sammaritans, *ibid.* he besieges and takes Gaza, 108. enters Egypt, 110. makes himself master of it, 111. and begins to build Alexandria, 113. he goes to Lybia, *ibid.* visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, 115. and causes himself to be declared the son of that god, *ibid.* he returns to Egypt, 116
Alexander, on his return to Egypt, meditates advancing against Darius, VI. 117. on setting out, he is informed of the death of that prince's wife, 118. he causes her to be interred with very great magnificence, *ibid.* he passes the Euphrates, 119. then the Tigris, 120, he comes up with Darius, and gains the great battle of Arbela, 132. he takes

takes Arbela, 133. Babylon, 136. Susa, 140. subdues the Uxii, 143, &c. seises the pass of Susa, 145. arrives at Persepolis, of which he makes himself master, 146, &c. and burns the palace of that city in a debauch, 149

Alexander pursues Darius, VI. 150. Bessus's treatment of that prince makes him hasten his march, 153. Alexander's grief on seeing the body of Darius, who had just before expired, 135. he sends it to Sysigambis, *ibid.* he marches against Bessus, 163. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes from a remote country to see him, 166. he abandons himself to pleasure and debauch, 167. he continues his march against Bessus, 170. he puts Philotas to death upon suspicion of having entered into a conspiracy against him, 178. and Parmenio his father, *ibid.* he subdues several nations, 180. he arrives in Bactriana, *ibid.* his cruel treatment of the Branchides, 181. Bessus is brought to him, 182

Alexander takes many cities in Bactriana, VI. 183, &c. and builds one near the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name, 185. he marches against the Sogdians, who had revolted, and destroys many of their cities, *ibid.* the Scythians send ambassadors to him, who speak with extraordinary liberty, 187. he passes the Iaxartes, 191. gains a victory over the Scythians, *ibid.* and treats the conquered favourably, *ibid.* he quells a revolt of the Sogdians, 192. he sends Bessus to Ecbatana, to be punished, 193. he takes the city of Petra, *ibid.* &c. he abandons himself to the pleasure of hunting, in which he is in great danger, 198. he gives Clitus the command of the provinces which had been under Artabasus before, 199. he invites that officer to a feast, and kills him, 201. he undertakes various expeditions, 204. he marries Roxana daughter of Oxyartes, 206. he resolves to march against India, and makes preparations for setting out, *ibid.* he endeavours to make his courtiers adore him after the Persian manner, 207. he puts the philosoper Callisthenes to death, 210

Alexander setsout for India, VI. 212. he takes many cities there that seem impregnable, and frequently endangers his life, 219, &c. he grants Taxilus his protection, 223. he passes the river Indus, and then the Hydaspes, 224. and gains a famous victory over Porus, 231. he restores that prince his kingdom, 232. he builds Nicæa and Bucephalia, *ibid.* he advances into India, and subjects many nations, 233. he forms the design of penetrating as far as the Ganges, 239. general murmur of his army, *ibid.* he renounces that design, and gives orders to prepare for returning, 243. excess of vanity which he shows in giving thanks to the gods, 244

Alexander sets out on his march to the ocean, VI. 245. he is in extreme danger at the city of Oxydrace, *ibid.* he subdues all he meets in his way, 251. he arrives at the ocean, 252. prepares for his return to Europe, *ibid.* &c. he suffers extremely by famine in passing desert places, 255. equipage in which he passes through Carmania, 256. he arrives at Pasargada, 258. honours rendered by him to the ashes of Cyrus, 260. he puts Orsines, satrap of the province

vince to death, 261. he marries Statira, the daughter of Darius, 263. he pays the debts of the ſoldiers, *ibid.* he appeaſes a revolt amongſt them, 269, &c. he recalls Antipater, and ſubſtitutes Craterus to him, 271. his grief for Hephæſtion's death, 271, &c. he conquers the Coſſæans, *ibid.*

Alexander enters Babylon, notwithſtanding the ſiniſter predictions of the Magi, and other ſoothſayers, VI. 273. he celebrates Hephæſtion's funeral with extraordinary magnificence, 275. he forms various deſigns of expeditions and conqueſts, 279. he ſets people at work upon repairing the banks of the Euphrates, 280. and rebuilding the temple of Belus, 281. he abandons himſelf to exceſſive drinking, which occaſions his death, 283, &c. pomp of his funeral, VII. 26. his body is carried to Alexandria, 29. judgement to be paſſed on Alexander, VI. 289. character of that prince, as to merit, 290, &c. Daniel's prophecies concerning Alexander, 101, &c.

Alexander, ſon of Alexander the Great, is elected king, VII. 5. Caſſander firſt deprives that prince of the ſovereignty, 67. then puts him to death, 97

Alexander, ſon of Caſſander, diſputes the crown of Macedonia with his brother Antipater, VII. 158. he is killed by Demetrius, whom he had called in to his aid, 159

Alexander I. king of Epirus, marries Cleopatra, daughter of Philip king of Macedonia, V. 330

Alexander Bala forms a conſpiracy againſt Demetrius Soter, IX. 184. he aſcends the throne of Syria, 186. he marries Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy Philometer, *ibid.* he abandons himſelf to voluptuouſneſs, 187. Ptolemy declares againſt him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, 189. Alexander periſhes, *ibid.*

Alexander Zebina dethrones Demetrius king of Syria, IX. 221. he is defeated by Antiochus Grypus, and ſoon after killed. 224

Alexander I. ſon of Phyſcon is placed upon the throne of Egypt, IX. 234. he cauſes his mother Cleopatra to be put to death, 241. he is expelled by his ſubjects, and periſhes ſoon after, 242

Alexander II. ſon of Alexander I. reigns in Egypt after the death of Lathyrus, IX. 243. he marries Cleopatra, called Berenice, and kills her nineteen days after, 244. the Alexandrians dethrone him, 252. he dies, and declares at his death the Roman people his heirs, 253

Alexander Jannæus reigns in Judæa, IX. 265. he attacks the inhabitants of Ptolemais, 235. Lathyrus marches to the aid of that city, and defeats Alexander near the Jordan, *ibid.* &c. Alexander's revenge upon Gaza, 266. quarrel between that prince and the Phariſees, 252. groſs affront that he receives at the feaſt of the tabernacles, 266. vengeance which he takes for it, *ibid.* civil war between that prince and his ſubjects, 267. after having terminated it, he abandons himſelf to feaſting and dies, *ibid.*

Alexander makes himſelf tyrant of Pheræ, V. 158. he endeavours to ſubject the people of Theſſaly, *ibid.* Pelopidas reduces him to reaſon, *ibid.* he ſeiſes Pelopidas by treachery, and puts him in priſon, 161. Epaminondas obliges him to releaſe

leaſe his priſoner, 164. he is defeated near Cynocephalus, 166. tragical end of that tyrant, 169. his diverſions, 164

Alexander, ſon of Æropus, forms a conſpiracy againſt Alexander the Great, VI. 37. he is put to death, *ibid.*

Alexander, ſon of Polyſperchon, accepts the general government of Peloponneſus, VII. 68. he is killed in Sicyon, *ibid.*

Alexander, governor of Perſia for Antiochus the Great, VIII. 3. he revolts, and makes himſelf ſovereign in his province, *ibid.* he periſhes miſerably, 9

Alexander, deputy from the Ætolians to the aſſembly of the allies held at Tempe, VIII. 178

Alexander, pretended ſon of Perſeus, is driven out of Macedonia, where he had uſurped the throne, IX. 132

Alexander, ſon of Anthony and Cleopatra, X. 201

Alexandra, wife of Alexander Jannæus, reigns over the Jewiſh nation, IX. 252, &c.

Alexandria, city of Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, VI. 113. famous libraries of Alexandria, VII. 172, &c. fate of thoſe libraries, 173, &c.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great upon the Iaxartes, VI. 185

Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamæa, betrays Epigenes, Antiochus's general, VIII. 9

Algebra, that ſcience is part of the mathematics, and ought not to be neglected, X. 19

Allobroges. Extent of their country, II. 53

Alps, mountains famous for Hannibal's paſſing them, II. 53

Amaſis, officer of Aprics, is proclaimed king of Egypt, I. 264. he is confirmed in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom by Nabucodonoſor, *ibid.* he defeats Apries, who marched againſt him, takes him priſoner, and puts him to death, *ibid.* he reigns peaceably in Egypt, 266. his method for acquiring the reſpect of his ſubjects, *ibid.* his death, 268. his body is taken out of his tomb, and burnt by order of Cambyſes, II. 358

Ambaſſadors.. Fine example of diſintereſt in certain Roman ambaſſadors, VII. 252

Amenophis, king of Egypt, I. 234. his manner of educating his ſon Seſoſtris, 235. this king is the Pharoah of the Scripture, who was drowned in the Red-ſea, 234

Ameſtris, wife of Xerxes. Barbarous and inhuman revenge of that princeſs, III. 242, &c.

Amiſus, city of Aſia, beſieged by Lucullus, X. 110. the engineer Callimachus, who defended it, ſets it on fire and burns it, 115

Ammonians, II. 358. famous temple of that people, VI. 111

Amneſty, famous one at Athens, IV. 158. occaſions when amneſties are neceſſary, 159

Amorges, baſtard of Piſſuthnes, revolts againſt Darius Nothus, IV. 94. he is taken and ſent into Perſia, 95

Amoſis, king of Egypt. See Thethmoſis.

Amphares, one of the Spartan Ephori, VII. 326. his treachery and cruelty to king Agis, *ibid.*

Amphictyon, king of Athens, III. 12

Amphictyons. Inſtitution of that aſſembly, III. 12. IV. 371. their power, 372. oath taken at their inſtallation, *ibid.* their condeſcenſions for Philip occaſion the diminution of their authority,

thority, 374. famous ſacred war undertaken by order of this aſſembly, V. 266
Amphipolis, city of Thrace, beſieged by Cleon, general of the Athenians, IV. 13. Philip takes that city from the Athenians, and declares it free, V. 253. it is ſoon after taken poſſeſſion of by that prince. 256
Amyntas I. king of Macedonia ſubmits to Darius. III. 130
Amyntas II. king of Macedonia, father of Philip, V. 246. his death, 248
Amyntas, ſon of Perdiccas, excluded from the throne of Macedonia, V. 251
Amyntas, deſerter from Alexander's army ſeiſes the government of Egypt, VI. 110. he is killed there, 111
Amyntas, one of Alexander the Great's officers, VI. 138
Amyrtæus, one of the generals of the Egyptians, who had revolted againſt Artaxerxes Longimanus, III. 291. he is aſſiſted by the Athenians, 311. he drives the Perſians out of Egypt, and is declared king of it, IV. 6. he dies, 7
Amytis, wife of Nabucodonoſor, II. 191
Anacharſis, by nation of the Scytho-Nomades, one of the ſeven ſages, III. 87. his contempt for riches, *ibid.*
Anachreon, Greek poet, III. 81.
Anaitis. Fate of one of the ſtatues of this goddeſs, X. 199
Anaxagoras, his care of Pericles, III. 299. his doctrine. 336
Anaxander, king of Lacedæmonia, I. 146
Anaxilaus, tyrant of Zancle, III. 354
Anaximenes, in what manner he ſaved his country, VI. 26
Andranodorus, guardian of Hieronymus, king of Syracuſe, X. 24. his ſtrange abuſe of his authority, 25. after the death of Hieronymus he ſeiſes part of Syracuſe, 29. he forms a conſpiracy for aſcending the throne, 32. he is accuſed and put to death, *ibid.*
Andriſcus of Adramyttium, pretends himſelf ſon of Perſeus, and is declared king of Macedonia, IX. 129. he defeats the Roman army, commanded by the prætor Juventius, 131. he is twice defeated by Metellus, 132. he is taken, and ſent to Rome, *ibid.* he ſerves to adorn the triumph of Metellus, 145
Androcles, ſon of Codrus king of Athens, III. 18
Andromachus, governor of Syria and Paleſtine for Alexander, VI. 117. ſad end of that governor, *ibid.*
Andromachus, father of Achæus, is taken and kept priſoner by Ptolemy Evergetes, VIII. 2. Ptolemy Philopator ſets him at liberty, and reſtores him to his ſon 13
Andronicus, general for Antigonus, makes himſelf maſter of Tyre, VII. 86. he is beſieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to ſurrender, 90
Andronicus, Perſeus's officer, put to death, and why, IX. 48, 49
Andronicus of Rhodes, to whom the world is indebted for the works of Ariſtotle, X. 100
Androſthenes, commander for Philip at Corinth, is defeated by Nicoſtratus, prætor of the Achæans, VIII. 181
Angels. Opinions of the Pagans concerning them, IV. 285
Anicius, Roman prætor, is charged with the war againſt Gentius king of Illyria, IX. 64.

he defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, 64. he receives the honour of a triumph, 96
Antalcides, Lacedæmonian, concludes a shameful peace with the Persians for the Grecks, IV. 250, &c.
Anthony (Marcus) contributes by his valour to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, X. 174, &c. when triumvir, he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 191. his passion for that princess, 192. her ascendant over him, 193. she carries him with her to Alexandria, 196. Anthony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister, 198. he makes some expeditions into Parthia, 200. then goes to Phœnicia to meet Cleopatra, *ibid.* his injurious treatmeut of Octavia, *ibid.* he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 201. he celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra, and her children, 202. open rupture between Cæsar and Anthony, 203, 205. Anthony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 208. he is entirely defeated in a sea-fight by Actium, 210. all his troops surrender themselves to Cæsar, 211. he returns to Alexandria, *ibid.* he sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cæsar, 212, 213. seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends to challenge Cæsar to a single combat, 215. believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, 216. he expires in Cleopatra's arms, *ibid.* that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 219
Antigona, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, VI. 173.
Antigona, the daughter of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, VII. 153.
Antigonia, city built by Antigonus, VII. 144. and destroyed by Seleucus, 150
Antigonus, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, VII. 5. he makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 39. he marches into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, 40. he becomes very powerful, 44. he revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes, who adheres to them, 59. he is defeated by that captain, 74. he gets Eumenes into his hands by treachery, 80. and rids himself of him in prison, 81. a league is formed against him, 83. he takes Syria and Phœnicia from Ptolemy, 85, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, 86. he marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, 88. he concludes a treaty with the confederate princes, 97. he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of Greece, 102. he besieges and takes Athens, 103, &c. excessive honours paid him there, 106. he assumes the title of king, 115. he makes preparations to invade Egypt, 116. his enterprise is unsuccessful, *ibid.* he loses a great battle at Ipsus, and is killed in it, 145
Antigonus Gonatus offers himself as an hostage for Demetrius his father, VII. 169. he establishes himself in Macedonia, 206. Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 239. he retires into his maritime cities, *ibid.* he sends troops to the aid of the Spartans against Pyrrhus, 244. he marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, 248. he takes the

the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and celebrates the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 249. he besieges Athens, 254. and takes it, *ibid.* his death, 282.

Antigonus Doson, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, VII. 289. the Achæans call him in to their aid against Sparta, 339. he occasions their gaining several advantages, 345, &c. he is victorious in the famous battle of Selasia against Cleomenes, 352. he makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 359. he marches against the Illyrians, and dies, after having gained a victory over them, 360

Antigonus, nephew of Antigonus Doson, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the innocence of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, VIII. 367. Philip's intentions in respect to him, 369

Antigonus, a Macedonian lord in the court of Perseus, VII. 238

Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Ituræa, IX. 263. at his return his brother puts him to death, *ibid.*

Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, II. is sent to Rome by Pompey, IX. 277. he is set upon the throne of Judæa, 279. he is besieged in Jerusalem, 281. he surrenders, and is put to death, 282.

Antimachus, officer in the army of Perseus, IX. 38

Antioch, city built by Seleucus upon the Orontes, VII. 150

Antiochus, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, IV. 118.

Antiochus I. surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice, his father's wife, VII. 193. he endeavours to seise the kingdom of Pergamus, 258. he is defeated by Eumenes, *ibid.* he puts one of his sons to death, and dies himself soon after, *ibid.*

Antiochus II. surnamed Theos, ascends the throne of Syria, VII. 259. he delivers Miletus from tyranny, *ibid.* he carries the war into Egypt against Ptolemy, 262. the provinces of the East revolt against him, 263. he loses most of those provinces, 264. he makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice, the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, *ibid.* he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 274. Daniel's prophecies concerning him, 275.

Antiochus Herax commands in Asia Minor, VII. 275. he enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 281. he declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, 282. he is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, 283. he retires to Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, 284. he takes refuge with Ptolemy, who imprisons him, 285. he escapes, and is assassinated by robbers, *ibid.*

Antiochus III. surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, VIII. 3. fidelity of Achæus in respect to him, *ibid.* he appoints Hermias his prime minister, *ibid.* Molon and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, 4. he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, 5. he sacrifices Epigenes, the

the moſt able of his generals, to the jealouſy of Hermias, 8. he marches againſt the rebels, and reduces them, 9. he rids himſelf of Hermias, 12. he marches into Cœloſyria, and takes Seleucia, 15. Tyre and Ptolemais, 16. he makes a truce with Ptolemy, *ibid.* the war breaks out again, 18. Antiochus gains many advantages, *ibid.* he loſes a great battle at Raphia, 20. he makes peace with Ptolemy, 23. he turns his arms againſt Achæus, who had revolted, *ibid.* Achæus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, 25. expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 119. Parthia, 121. Hyrcania, *ibid.* Bactria, 122. and even into India, 123. he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, 128. and ſeiſes Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, *ibid.* he makes war againſt Attalus, 151. upon the remonſtrances of the Romans he retires, 152. he recovers Cœloſyria, which Ariſtomenes had taken from him, 154. Antiochus forms the deſign of ſeiſing Aſia Minor, 155. he takes ſome places there, 189. an embaſſy is ſent to him from the Romans upon that head, 190. Hannibal retires to him, 194. the arrival of that general determines him upon a war with the Romans, 210. he marches againſt the Piſidians, and ſubjects them, 214. he goes to Greece at the requeſt of the Ætolians, 228. he attempts to bring over the Achæans in vain, 230. and afterwards the Boœtians, 233, 234. he makes himſelf maſter of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, *ibid.* the Romans declare war againſt him, *ibid.* he makes an ill uſe of Hannibal's counſels, 236. he goes to Chalcis, and marries the daughter of the perſon in whoſe houſe he lodges, 237. he ſeiſes the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, 238. he is defeated near thoſe mountains, and eſcapes to Chalcis, 239. on his return to Epheſus, he ventures a ſea-fight, and loſes it, 246. his fleet gains ſome advantage over the Rhodians, 249. he loſes a ſecond battle at ſea, 250. conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, 253. he makes propoſals of peace, 255. which are rejected, 256. he loſes a great battle near Magneſia, 261, &c. he demands peace, 264. and obtains it, on what conditions, 265. in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, 295. he is killed, 296. character of Antiochus, *ibid.* Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, 297

Antiochus, the eldeſt ſon of Antiochus the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, VIII. 215. character of that young prince, *ibid.*

Antiochus IV. ſurnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as an hoſtage, VIII. 266. he aſcends the throne of Syria, 375. diſpute between that prince and the king of Egypt, 379. he marches againſt Egypt, 382. and gains a firſt victory over Ptolemy, *ibid.* then a ſecond, 384. he makes himſelf maſter of Egypt, *ibid.* and takes the king himſelf, *ibid.* upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Paleſtine, 385. beſieges and takes Jeruſalem, *ibid.* where he exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelties, *ibid.* &c. Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 386. he replaces Ptolemy Philometer upon the throne, and with what view, 390. he returns to Syria, *ibid.* he comes back to Egypt, and marches

marches to Alexandria, 392. Popilius, the Roman ambaſſador, obliges him to quit it, 393.

Antiochus, incenſed at what happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, VIII. 395. he orders Apollonius, one of his generals, to deſtroy Jeruſalem, 396. cruelties committed there by that general, *ibid.* Antiochus endeavours to aboliſh the worſhip of the true God at Jeruſalem, 397. he enters Judæa, and commits horrible cruelties, 400, &c. he celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 407. ſeveral of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabæus, *ibid.* &c. he goes to Perſia, attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is ſhamefully repulſed, 415. upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judæa, he ſets out inſtantly with deſign to exterminate the Jews, *ibid.* he is ſtruck by the hand of God on his way, and dies in the moſt exquiſite torments, 416. Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 418

Antiochus V. called Eupator, ſucceeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, IX. 166. he continues the war with the Jews, 167. his generals and himſelf in perſon are defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 168. he makes peace with the Jews, and deſtroys the fortifications of the temple, 170. Romans diſcontented with Eupator, 178 his ſoldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 179

Antiochus VI. ſurnamed Theos, is placed upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, IX. 194. he is aſſaſſinated ſoon after, 196

Antiochus VII. ſurnamed Sidetes, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, IX. 201. he dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, 202. he marches into Judæa, 212. beſieges John Hyrcanus in Jeruſalem, *ibid.* the city capitulates, 213. he turns his arms againſt Parthia, 214. where he periſhes, 215. adventures of this prince in hunting, 216

Antiochus VIII. ſurnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, IX. 224. he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Phyſcon, king of Egypt, *ibid.* he defeats and expels Zebina, *ibid.* his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poiſon him, and is poiſoned herſelf, 225. Antiochus reigns ſome time in peace, *ibid.* war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 227. the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 229. Grypus marries Selena, the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war againſt his brother, 238. he is aſſaſſinated by one of his vaſſals, 343

Antiochus IX. ſurnamed the Cyzicenian, makes war againſt his brother Antiochus Grypus, IX. 227. he marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, *ibid.* after ſeveral battles, he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 229. he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unſucceſsful in that war, 230. after his brother's death he endeavours to poſſeſs himſelf of his dominions, 239. he loſes a battle againſt Seleucus the ſon of Grypus, who puts him to death, 240

Antiochus X. ſurnamed Euſebes, ſon of Antiochus the Cyzicenian, cauſes himſelf to be crowned king of Syria, and expels Seleucus, IX. 240. he gains

gains a battle againſt Antiochus and Philip, brother of Seleucus, *ibid.* he marries Selena, the widow of Grypus, 240. he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongſt the Parthians, 241. by their aid he returns into Syria, *ibid.* he is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, 243

Antiochus XI. ſon of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, IX. 240. he is defeated by Euſebius, and drowned in endeavouring to paſs the Orontes, *ibid.* &c.

Antiochus XII. furnamed Dyonyſius, ſeiſes Cœloſyria, and reigns ſome ſhort time. IX. 241.

Antiochus XIII. called Aſiaticus, ſent by Selena, his mother, to Rome, IX. 245. on his return he goes to Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, 246. he reigns ſome time in Syria, 250. Pompey deprives him of his dominions, *ibid.*

Antipas, or Antipator, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judæa, IX. 272, &c. he ſends troops to aid Cæſar, beſieged in Alexandria, X. 181

Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his abſence, VI. 24. he defeats the Lacedæmonians, who had revolted againſt Macedonia, 161. Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 271. ſuſpicions of Antipater in reſpect to Alexander's death, 285. Antipater's expeditions into Greece after Alexander's death, VII. 12. he is defeated by the Athenians near Lama, to which he retires, 13. he ſurrenders that place by capitulation, 15. he ſeiſes Athens, and puts a garriſon into it, 18 he puts Demoſthenes and Hyperides to death; he gives Phila, his daughter to Craterus in marriage, 25. he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia, in the room of Perdiccas, 38. death of Antipater, 43

Antipater, eldeſt ſon of Caſſander, VII. 158. diſpute between that prince and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, *ibid.* he kills his mother Theſſalonica, who favoured his younger brother, *ibid.* Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, 159. he retires into Thrace, and dies there, *ibid.*

Antiphon, courtier of Dionyſius. Witty ſaying which coſt him his life, V. 43.

Antony. See Anthony.

Anyſis, king of Egypt, I. 248

Aornus, a rock of India, beſieged and taken by Alexander, VI. 220

Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, and widow of Magas, VII. 262

Apaturiæ: Feaſts celebrated at Athens, IV. 128

Apaturius, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conſpiracy againſt that prince, and poiſons him, VIII. 2. he is put to death, *ibid.*

Apega, infernal machine, invented by Nabis, VIII. 117.

Apelles, courtier of Philip VIII. 41. abuſes his power, *ibid.* he endeavours to humble and enſlave the Achæans, 43. he periſhes miſerably, 61

Apelles, Perſeus's accomplice in accuſing Demetrius, is ſent ambaſſador to Rome by Philip, VIII. 364. after the death of Demetrius, he eſcapes into Italy,

Apelles, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make

Mattathias sacrifice to idols, VIII. 399. Mattathias kills him with all his followers, *ibid.*

Apellicon, Athenian library erected by him at Athens, X. 100

Apis, ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, killed by Cambyses, II. 361

Apis, king of Argos, III. 11

Apollo, Temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, I. 50

Apollocrates, eldest son of Dionysius the Younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse, in the room of his father, V. 77. he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 87.

Apollodorus, of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, VI. 137

Apollodorus, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, X. 181

Apollodorus, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Jannæus, IX. 265. he is assassinated by his brother Lysimachus, *ibid.*

Apollonides, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, VII. 39. he is seised and put to death, *ibid.*

Apollonides, magistrate of Syracuse, X. 52. his wise discourse in the assembly of the people, 53

Apollonius, lord of the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador to that prince, first to Egypt, VIII. 380, then to Rome, *ibid.* Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 396. his cruelties there, *ibid.* he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in the battle, 407

Apollonius, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, IX. 188. he forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometer, 189

Apollophanes, physician of Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, VIII. 11. salutary advice which he gave Antiochus, 14

Appius (Claudius) Roman consul, is sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, II. 4. he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, *ib.*

Appius (Claudius) Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Phyrrus, VII. 220

Appius (Claudius) Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beat near Ufcana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, IX. 39

Apries ascends the throne of Egypt, I. 259. success of that prince, *ibid.* Zedekiah, king of Judah, implores his aid, 260. he declares himself protector of Israel, *ibid.* Egypt revolts against him, 261. and sets Amasis on the throne, 262. he is obliged to retire into Upper Egypt, *ibid.* Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 264

Aquilius (Manius) Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, X. 77.

Arabians (Nabuchæan) character of that people, VII. 95

Aracus, Lacedæmonian admiral, IV. 132

Aræus, one of the Spartan exiles, is re-instated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, VIII. 314. the Achæans

Achæans condemn him to die, 317. his ſentence is annulled by the Romans, 321
Aræus, grandſon of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, VII. 240.
Aræus, another king of Sparta, VII. 311
Araſpes, lord of Media, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa priſoner, II. 275. paſſion which he conceives for that princeſs, *ibid.* goodneſs of Cyrus in reſpect to him, 276. he does that prince great ſervice in going as a ſpy amongſt the Aſſyrians, 277
Aratus, ſon of Clinias, eſcapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, VII. 292. he delivers that city from the tyranny, *ibid.* 293. and unites it with the Achæan league, *ibid.* he appeaſes a ſedition upon the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 296, &c. he is elected general of the Achæans, 298. he takes Corinth from Antigonus, 299, &c. he makes ſeveral cities enter into the Achæan league, 304. he has not the ſame ſucceſs at Argos, 308. he marches againſt the Ætolians, 321. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains ſeveral advantages over him, 333. Aratus's envy of that prince, 338. he calls in Antigonus to aid the Achæans againſt the Lacedæmonians, 340. he marches againſt the Ætolians, and is defeated near Caphyæ, VIII. 29. Philip's affection for Aratus, *ibid.* Apelles, Philip's miniſter, accuſes him falſely to that prince, 44. he is declared innocent, 46. he accompanies Philip into Ætolia, his expeditions againſt the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Elæans, 47. Philip cauſes him to be poiſoned, 72. his funeral ſolemnized magnificently, 73
Aratus the Younger, ſon of the great Aratus, is chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, VIII. 39. Philip cauſes him to be poiſoned, 73, 74
Arbaces, governor of the Medes, for Sardanapalus, revolts againſt that prince, and founds the kingdom of the Medes, II. 202
Arbaces, general in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon, againſt his brother Cyrus, IV. 172
Arbela, city of Aſſyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, VI. 133
Arceſilas, Alexander's lieutenant. Provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, VII. 5, 6
Archagathus, ſon of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, I. 338. he periſhes there miſerably, 339
Archelaus, governor of Suſa, for Alexander, VI. 140
Archelaus, general for Antigonus, marches againſt Aratus, who beſieged Corinth, and is taken priſoner, VII. 302. Aratus ſets him at liberty, 303
Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, X. 80. he is driven out of it by Sylla, 86. he is defeated by the ſame captain, firſt at Cheronæa, 88. and then at Orchomenos, 91. he eſcapes to Chalcis, 92. and has an interview with Sylla, near Delium, 94. Archelaus goes over to Muræna, 101. he engages the latter to make war againſt Mithridates, *ibid.*
Archelaus, ſon of the former, is made high-prieſt and ſovereign of Comana, X. 157. he marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 172. he is killed in a battle with the Romans, 173
Archelaus, ſon of the latter, enjoys the ſame dignities as his father,

father, IX. 331. he marries Glaphyra, and has two ſons by her, *ibid.*
Archelaus, ſecond ſon of Archelaus and Glaphyra, aſcends the throne of Cappadocia, IX. 331. Tiberius does him great ſervices with Auguſtus, 332. he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himſelf, 334. he is cited to Rome, and why, *ibid.* he is very ill received there, *ibid.* he dies ſoon after, *ibid.*
Archias, Corinthian, founder of Syracuſe, III. 360
Archias, Theban, is killed by the conſpirators at a feaſt given by Philidas, one of them, to the Bœotarchs, V. 126
Archias, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides, and ſeveral other perſons, to Antigonus, VII. 20.
Archibius. His attachment to Cleopatra, X. 222
Archidamia, Lacedæmonian lady: Heroick action of her's, VII. 242. ſhe is put to death by order of Amphares, 329
Archidamus, king of Sparta, III. 307. he ſaves the Lacedæmonians from the fury of the Helots, *ibid.* he commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, 370. he beſieges Platæa, 390.
Archimadus, ſon of Ageſilaus, gains a battle againſt the Arcadians, V. 154. his valour during the ſiege of Sparta by Epaminondas, 171. He reigns in Sparta, 194
Archidamus, brother of Agis, eſcapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, VII. 330. Cleomenes recalls him, 333. he is aſſaſſinated in returning home, 334
Archidamus, ambaſſador of the Ætolians, endeavours to engage the Achæans to declare for Antiochus, VIII. 231
Archilochus, Greek poet, inventor of Iambic verſes, III. 75. character of his poetry, *ibid.*
Archimedes, famous geometrician, X. 17. he invents many machines of war, 18. prodigious effects of thoſe machines, 41, 42. he is killed at the taking of Syracuſe, 56. his tomb diſcovered by Cicero, 57
Archon, one of Alexander's officers. Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5, 6
Archon is elected chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, IX. 40. wiſe reſolution which he makes that people take, 42
Archons inſtituted at Athens, IV. 366. their function, 367
Ardys, king of Lydia, II. 237.
Areopagus: its eſtabliſhment, IV. 364. authority of that ſenate, *ibid.* Pericles weakens its authority, 366.
Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, ſubmits to Pompey, X. 161
Arete, daughter of Dionyſius the tyrant, firſt married to her brother Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, V. 46
Arethuſa, fountain famous in fabulous hiſtory, IV. 50
Argæus is placed by the Athenians upon the throne of Macedonia, V. 251. is defeated by Philip, 253
The Argilian, a name given the ſlave who diſcovered Pauſanias's conſpiracy, III. 256
Arginuſæ: Iſles famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, IV. 123
Argo, king of Lydia, II. 255
Argos, foundation of that kingdom, III. 11. kings of Argos, *ibid.* war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, I. 138. they

they refuſe to aid the Greeks againſt the Perſians, IV. 221. Argos beſieged by Pyrrhus, VII. 247. Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 308. but without ſucceſs, 309. Argos is ſubjected by the Lacedæmonians, 344. and afterwards by Antigonus, *ibid.* Argos ſurrenders to Philocles, one of Philip's generals, VIII. 164. the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 167. it throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and re-inſtates its liberty, 204

Argus, king of Argos, III. 11

Ariæus, of Alexandria, philoſopher; Auguſtus Cæſar's eſteem for him, X. 218

Ariæus commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, IV. 173. he flies upon advice of that prince's death, *ibid.* the Greeks offer him the crown of Perſia, 183. he refuſes it, and makes a treaty with them, 184

Ariamenes, Arabian, deceives and betrays Craſſus, IX. 295

Ariamnes, king of Cappadocia, IX. 323.

Ariarathes I. king of Cappadocia, IX. 322.

Ariarathes II. ſon of the firſt, reigns over Cappadocia, IX. 323. he is defeated in a battle by Perdiccas, who ſeiſes his dominions, and puts him to death, *ibid.*

Ariarathes III. eſcapes into Armenia after his father's death, IX. 323. he aſcends the throne of his anceſtors, *ibid.*

Ariarathes IV. king of Cappadocia, marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, VII. 284. the Romans lay a great fine upon him for having aided his father-in-law, VIII. 295. he ſends his ſon to Rome, and with what view, IX. 12. he declares for the Romans againſt Perſeus, 14. death of Ariarathes, 116

Ariarathes VI. goes to Rome, and why, IX. 11. he refuſes to reign during his father's life, 116. after his father's death he aſcends the throne of Cappadocia, *ibid.* he renews the alliance with the Romans, *ibid.* he is dethroned by Demetrius, 117. he implores aid of the Romans, *ibid.* Attalus re-eſtabliſhes him upon the throne, *ibid.* he enters into a confederacy againſt Demetrius, 326. he marches to aid the Romans againſt Ariſtonicus, and is killed in that war, 327

Ariarathes VII. reigns in Cappadocia, IX. 327. his brother-in-law Mithridates cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated, *ibid.*

Ariarathes VIII. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates IX. 327. he is aſſaſſinated by that prince, *ibid.*

Ariarathes IX. king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, IX. 328.

Ariarathes X. aſcends the throne of Cappadocia, IX. 331. Siſinna diſputes the poſſeſſion of it with him, and carries it againſt him, *ibid.* Ariarathes reigns a ſecond time in Cappadocia, *ibid.*

Ariarathes, ſon of Mithridates, reigns in Cappadocia, IX. 328. he is dethroned by the Romans, *ibid.*

Ariaſpes, ſon of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himſelf, V. 197

Aridæus, baſtard brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, VI. 288. Olympius

causes him to be put to death, VII. 64

Arimazus, Sogdian, governor of Petra Oxiana, refuses to surrender to Alexander, VI. 194. he is besieged in that place, 195. he submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 197

Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, I. 159 he revolts against that prince, V. 194

Ariobarzanes I. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, IX. 329. he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, *ibid.* Pompey re-instates him in the quiet possession of the throne, *ibid.*

Ariobarxanes II. ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, IX. 329

Ariobarzanes III. reigns in Cappadocia, IX. 329. Cicero suppresses a conspiracy forming against him, *ibid.* he sides with Pompey against Cæsar, 331. the latter lays him under contribution, *ibid.* he refuses to ally with Cæsar's murderers, *ibid.* Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death, *ibid.*

Ariobarzanes, governor of Persia for Darius, posts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander from passing it, VI. 144. he is put to flight, 145

Aristagoras is established governor of Miletus by Hystræus, III. 130. he joins the Ionians in their revolt against Darius, 133. he goes to Lacedæmon for aid, 136. but ineffectually, 137. he goes to Athens, *ibid.* that city grants him some troops, 138. he is defeated and killed in a battle, 140

Aristander, a soothsayer in the train of Alexander, VI. 129

Aristazanes, officer in the court of Ochus, V. 224

Aristeas, citizen of Argos, gives Pyrrhus entrance into that city, VII. 247

Aristænus, chief magistrate of the Achæans, engages them to declare for the Romans against Philip, VIII. 159, &c.

Aristides, one of the generals of the Athenian army at Marathon, resigns the command to Miltiades, III. 155. he distinguishes himself in the battle, 157. he is banished, 163. he is recalled, 195. he goes to Themistocles at Salamin, and persuades him to fight in that strait, 212. he gains a famous victory over that general at Platææ, 228. he terminates a difference that had arisen between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 233. confidence of the Athenians in Aristides, 249. his condescension for that people, *ibid.* he is placed at the head of the troops sent by Athens to deliver the Greeks from the Persian yoke, 252. his conduct in that war, 253. he is charged with the administration of the public revenues, 261. his death and character, *ibid.*

Aristides, painter, great esteem for his works, IX. 141

Aristion usurps the government at Athens, and acts with great cruelty, X. 79. he is besieged in that city by Sylla, 80. he is taken, and put to death, 85

Aristippus, philosopher, his desire to hear Socrates, IV. 289

Aristippus, citizen of Argos, excites a sedition in that city, VII. 245. he becomes tyrant of it, 308. he is killed in a battle, 309. continual terrors in which that tyrant lived, *ibid.*

Ariſtobulus I. ſon of John Hyrcanus, ſucceeds his father in the high-prieſthood, and ſovereignty of Judæa, IX. 262. he aſſumes the title of king, *ibid.* he cauſes his mother to be put to death, *ibid.* then his brother Antigonus, *ibid.* he dies ſoon after himſelf, 264
Ariſtobulus II. ſon of Alexander Jannæus, reigns in Judæa, IX. 272. diſpute between that prince and Hyrcanus, 273. Pompey takes cognizance of it, *ibid.* Ariſtobulus's conduct makes him his enemy, 274. Pompey lays him in chains, 275. and ſends him to Rome, 277
Ariſtocracy, form of government, III. 15.
Ariſtocrates commands the left wing of the Athenians at the battle of Arginuſæ, IV. 124
Ariſtodemus, chief of the Heraclidæ, poſſeſſes himſelf of Peloponneſus, III. 17
Ariſtodemus, guardian of Ageſipolis, king of Sparta, IV. 241
Ariſtodemus of Miletus is left at Athens by Demetrius, VII. 104
Ariſtogenes, one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of Arginuſæ, IV. 124
Ariſtogiton conſpires againſt the tyrants of Athens, III. 66. his death, *ibid.* ſtatues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, 68
Ariſtomache, ſiſter of Dion, is married to Dionyſius, the tyrant, V. 22
Ariſtomachus, tyrant of Argos, VII. 307. his death, 308
Ariſtomenes, Meſſenian, offers his daughter to be ſacrificed for appeaſing the wrath of the gods, I. 140. he carries the prize of valour at the battle of Ithoma, 144. he is elected king of the Meſſenians, *ibid.* he beats the Lacedæmonians, and ſacrifices three hundred of them in honour of Jupiter of Ithoma, *ibid.* he ſacrifices himſelf ſoon after upon his daughter's tomb, *ibid.*
Ariſtomenes, ſecond of that name, king of Meſſene, gains a victory over the Lacedæmonians, I. 146. bold action of that prince, *ibid.* he is beat by the Lacedæmonians, 148. his death, 149
Ariſtomenes, Acamanian, is charged with the education of Ptolemy Epiphanes, VIII. 137. he quaſhes a conſpiracy formed againſt that prince, 193. Ptolemy puts him to death, *ibid.*
Ariſton, of Syracuſe, comedian, diſcovers the conſpiracy formed by Andranadorus againſt his country, X. 32
Ariſton, pilot: Counſel which he gives the Syracuſans, IV. 83
Ariſtona, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius, III. 95
Ariſtonicus poſſeſſes himſelf of the dominions of Attalus, IX. 209. he defeats the conſul Craſſus Mucianus, and takes him priſoner, *ibid.* he is beaten and taken by Perpenna, *ibid.* the conſul ſends him to Rome, 210. he is put to death there, 211
Ariſtophanes, famous poet, I. 109. character of his poetry, *ibid. &c.* faults with which he may juſtly be reproached, *ibid.* extracts from ſome of his pieces, 111
Ariſtophon, Athenian captain, accuſes Iphicrates of treaſon, V. 209
Ariſtotle, Philip charges him with the education of Alexander, V 258, 259. his application in forming that prince, VI. 5. ſuſpicions of him in reſpect to the death of Alexander, 285. fate of his works, X. 99

Armenes, ſon of Nabis, goes an hoſtage to Rome, VIII. 208
Armenia, province of Aſia, I. 29. it was governed by kings, 160
Arphaxad, name given by the Scripture to Phraortes. See Phraortes.
Arrichion Pancratiaſt: Combat of that Athleta, I. 73
Arſaces, ſon of Darius. See Artaxerxes Mnemon.
Arſaces I. governor of Parthia for Antiochus, aſſumes the title of king, IX. 285
Arſaces II. king of Parthia, takes Media from Antiochus, VIII. 119. he ſuſtains a war with that prince, IX. 285. he comes to an accommodation with Antiochus, who leaves him in peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, *ibid.*
Arſames, natural ſon of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is aſſaſſinated by his brother Ochus, V. 197
Arſes reigns in Perſia after the death of Ochus, V. 229. Bagoas cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated *ibid.*
Arſinoe, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, is married to Lyſimachus, king of Thrace, VII. 151. after the death of that prince her brother Ceraunus marries her, 198. fatal ſequel of that marriage, 199. ſhe is baniſhed into Samothracia, *ibid.*
Arſinoe, another daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, VII. 255. death of that princeſs, 268
Arſinoe, ſiſter and wife of Ptolemy Philometer, VIII. 20. her death, 27
Arſinoe, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes: Cæſar's ſentence in her favour, X. 182. ſhe is proclaimed queen of Egypt, 183. Cæſar carries her to Rome, and makes her ſerve as an ornament in his triumph, 189. Anthony, at the requeſt of Cleopatra, cauſes her to be put to death, 194
Arſinoe, wife of Magas. See Apamia.
Arſites, ſatrap of Phrygia, occaſions the defeat of the Perſians at the Granicus, VI. 27. he kills himſelf through deſpair, 31
Art. See Arts.
Artabanus, uncle of Phraates, cauſes himſelf to be crowned king of Parthia, and is killed ſoon after, IX. 218
Artabanus, brother of Darius, endeavours to divert that prince from his enterpriſe againſt the Scythians, III. 120. he is made arbiter between the two ſons of Darius, in reſpect to the ſovereignty, 167. his wife diſcourſe to Xerxes upon that prince's deſign to attack Greece, 172, &c.
Artabanus, Hyrcanian, captain of the guards to Xerxes, conſpires againſt that prince, and kills him, III. 269. he is killed himſelf by Artaxerxes, 270
Artabarzanes, after the death of Darius, diſputes the throne of Perſia with Xerxes, III. 167. he continues in amity with his brother, and loſes his life in his ſervice at the battle of Salamin, *ibid.*
Artabarzanes, king of Atropatene, ſubmits to Antiochus, VIII. 10
Artabazus, Perſian lord, officer in the army of Mardonius, III. 229. his counſel to that general, *ibid.* he eſcapes into Aſia after the battle of Plataæ, 231. Xerxes gives him the command of the coaſts of Aſia Minor, and with what view, 253. he reduces the Egyptians who had revolted againſt Artaxerxes, 291

Artabazus, governor of one of the provinces of Asia for Ochus, revolts against that prince, V. 203. supported by Chares the Athenian, he gains several advantages, *ibid.* he is overpowered and retires into Macedonia, 204. Ochus receives him again into favour, 227, &c. his fidelity to Darius, VI. 153

Artagerses, officer, of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is killed in the battle of Cunaxa, IV. 176

Artainta, niece of Xerxes, III. 242. violent passion of that prince for her, 243. fatal sequel of that passion, 244

Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for his brother Darius, is for compelling the Athenians to re-instate Hippias, III. 71. he marches against the island of Naxos, with design to surprise it, 133. he is besieged in Sardis by the Athenians, 138. he discovers the conspiracy of Hystiæus, 140. he marches against the revolted Ionians, 141

Artaphernes, ambassador of Artaxerxes to the Lacedæmonians, III. last p.

Artarius, brother of Artaxerxes Longimanus, III. 293

Artavasdes, king of Armenia, IX. 288

Artaxerxes I. surnamed Longimanus, by the instigation of Artabanes, kills his brother Darius and ascends the throne of Persia, III. 269. he rids himself of Artabanes, 270. he destroys the party of Artabanes, 273. and that of Hystaspes his elder brother, *ibid.* he gives Themistocles refuge, 277 his joy for the arrival of that Athenian, *ibid.* he permits Esdras to return to Jerusalem first, and then Nehemiah, 295. alarmed by the conquests of the Athenians, he forms the design of sending Themistocles into Attica at the head of an army, 287. Egypt revolts against him, 290. he reduces it to return to its obedience, 292. he gives up Inarus to his mother contrary to the faith of treaty, 293. he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 312. he dies, IV. 1

Artaxerxes II. surnamed Mnemon, is crowned king of Persia, IV. 145. Cyrus his brother attempts to murder him, 146, he sends him to his government of Asia Minor, *ibid.* he marches against Cyrus advancing to dethrone him, 171 gives him battle at Cunaxa, 172. and kills him with his own hand, 176. he cannot force the Greeks in his brother's army to surrender themselves to him, 183. he puts Tissaphernes to death, 231. he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 250. he attacks Evagoras king of Cyprus, 255, &c. he judges the affair of Teribazus, his expedition against the Cadusians, 265, &c.

Artaxerxes sends an ambassador into Greece to reconcile the states, V. 152. he receives a deputation from the Greeks, 153. honours which he pays to Pelopidas, 155. he undertakes to reduce Egypt, 186. that enterprise miscarries, 188. he meditates a second attempt against Egypt, 190. most of the provinces of his empire revolt against him, 194. troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successors, 195. death of that prince, 197

Artaxerxes III. before called Ochus. See Ochus.

Artaxias, king of Armenia, VIII. 408

Artemedorus invested with the supreme authority at Syracuse, X. 2.

Artemisa, queen of Halicarnassus, supplies Xerxes with troops in his expedition against Greece III. 190. her courage in the battle of Salamin, 213
Artemisa, wife of Mausolus, reigns in Caria after the death of her husband, V. 216. honours she renders to the memory of Mausolus, *ibid.* she takes Rhodes, 217. her death. 219
Artemisa, promontory of Eubœa, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, III. 205
Artemon, Syrian. Part that queen Laodice makes him play, VII. 274
Artoxares, eunuch of Darius Nothus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, IV. 6. he is put to death, *ibid.*
Arts, origin and progress of the arts, II. 411. arts banished from Sparta by Lycurgus, III. 45. and placed in honour at Athens by Solon, 58
Artyphius, son of Megabysus, revolts against Ochus, IV. 3. he is suffocated in ashes, 4
Araspices. See Augurs
Arymbas, king of Epirus, V. 294
Asa, king of Judah, defeats the army of Zara, king of Æthiopia, I. 247
Asdrubal, Hamilcar's son-in-law, commands the Carthaginian army in Spain, II. 40. he builds Carthagena, *ibid.* he is killed treacherously by a Gaul, 41
Asdrubal, surnamed Calvis, is made prisoner in Sardinia by the Romans, II. 86.
Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother receives orders from Carthage to march to Italy to the aid of his brother, II. 91. he sets forward, and is defeated, 92. he loses a great battle near the river Metaurus, and is killed in it, 93
Asdrubal, Gisco's brother, commands the Carthaginian troops in Spain, II. 94
Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, is sent by the Carthaginians to Rome to demand peace, II. 102
Asdrubal, Masinissa's grandson, commands in Carthage, during the siege of that city by Scipio, II. 139. another Asdrubal causes him to be put to death, 145
Asdrubal, Carthaginian general, is condemned to die; and wherefore, II. 130. the Carthaginians appoint him general of the troops without their walls, 139. he causes another Asdrubal, who commands within the city, to be put to death, 145. his cruelty to the Roman prisoners, *ibid.* after the taking of the city he entrenches himself in the temple of Æsculapius, 149. he surrenders himself to Scipio, *ibid.* tragical end of his wife and children, 150
Ashes: Smothering in ashes a punishment amongst the Persians, IV. 4.
Asia, geographical description of it, I. 26. it is considered as the cradle of the sciences, II. 411
Asmonean races: Duration of their reign in Judæa, IX. 281
Aspasia, celebrated courtezan, III. 327. she marries Pericles, 337 accusation formed against her at Athens, *ibid.* her great knowledge occasions her being ranked amongst the sophists, *ibid.*
Aspic, serpent whose bite is mortal, VII. 190.
Aspis, governor for Artaxerxes in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia, revolts against that prince, IV. 271. he is punished soon after, *ibid.*
Assur, son of Shem, who gave his name to Assyria, II 181.

Assyria, origin of its name, II. 181
Assyrians. First empire of the Assyrians, II. 177. duration of that empire, *ibid.* kings of the Assyrians, 178, &c. second empire of the Assyrians, both of Nineveh and Babylon, 203. subversion of that empire by Cyrus, 219
Aster, of Amphipolis, shoots out Philip's right eye, V. 268. that prince puts him to death, *ibid.*
Astrology, Judicial, falsehood of that science, II. 420
Astronomy. Nation that applied themselves first to it, I. 216. II. 419
Astyages, king of the Medes, called in Scripture Ahasuerus, II. 233. he gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses king of Persia, 234. causes Cyrus his grandson to come to his court, 251
Astymedes, deputed to Rome by the Rhodians, endeavours to appease the anger of the senate, IX. 101
Asychis, king of Egypt, author of the law concerning loans, I. 246. famous pyramid built by his order, *ibid.*
Atheas king of Scythia, is defeated by Philip, against whom he had declared, V. 309
Athenæus, general of Antigonus, is sent by that prince against the Nabathæan Arabians, VII. 95. he perishes in that expedition, *ibid.*
Athenais, daughter of Leontius. See Eudocia.
Athenæus, brother of Eumenes, is sent ambassador by that prince to Rome. VIII. 337
Athenæus, governor for Antiochus in Judæa and Samaria, to establish that prince's religion in them, VIII. 398
Athenæa, or Panathenæa, feasts celebrated at Athens, I. 53
Athenion, courtier of Ptolemy Evergetes, goes to Jerusalem by order of that prince, VII. 287
Athens. Athenians. Foundation of the kingdom of Athens, III. 12. kings of Athens, *ibid.* the archons succeed them, 13. Draco is chosen legislator, 48. then Solon, 51. Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, 61, &c. the Athenians recover their liberty, 68. Hippias attempts in vain to re-establish the tyranny, 70. the Athenians, in conjunction with the Ionians, burn the city of Sardis, 138. Darius prepares to avenge that insult, 139. famous Athenian captains at that time, 144. Darius's heralds are put to death there, 152. the Athenians under Miltiades gain a famous victory over the Persians at Marathon, *ibid.* moderate reward granted Miltiades, 161

The Athenians, attacked by Xerxes, choose Themistocles general, III. 194. they resign the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, 197. they are reduced to abandon their city, 209. Athens is burnt by the Persians, 211. battle of Salamin, in which the Athenians acquire infinite glory, 212. they abandon their city a second time, 225. the Athenians and Lacedæmonians cut the Persian army to pieces near Platææ, 252. they defeat the Persian fleet at the same time near Mycale, 239. they rebuild the walls of their city, 245. the command of the Greeks in general transferred to the Athenians, 252

The Athenians, under Cimon, gain a double victory over the Persians near the river Eurymedon, III. 284. they support the

the Egyptians in their revolt againſt Perſia. 290. their conſiderable loſſes in that war, 292. ſeeds of diviſion between Athens and Sparta, 307. peace re-eſtabliſhed between the two ſtates, 310. Athenians gain ſeveral victories over the Perſians, which obliges Artaxerxes to conclude a peace highly glorious for the Greeks, 311. jealouſy and differences between Athens and Sparta, 324. treaty of peace for thirty years between the two ſtates, 327. the Athenians beſiege Samos, *ibid.* they ſend aid to the Corcyrans, 330. they beſiege Potidæa, *ibid.* open rupture between Athens and Sparta, 336. beginning of the Peloponneſian war, 369. reciprocal ravages of Attica and Peloponneſus, 373

Plague of Athens, VII. 378. The Athenians ſeiſe Potidæa, 386. they ſend forces againſt the iſle of Leſbos, 394. and make themſelves maſters of Mitylene, 399. the plague breaks out again at Athens, 407. the Athenians take Pylus, 408. and are beſieged in it, *ibid* they take the troops ſhut up in the iſle of Sphacteria, 408. they make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cythera, IV. 8. they are defeated by the Thebans near Delium, 10. truce for a year between Athens and Sparta, 11. the Athenians are defeated near Amphipolis, 13. treaty of peace for fifty years between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 17

The Athenians, at the inſtigation of Alcibiades, renew the war againſt Sparta, IV. 26. they engage by his advice in the war with Sicily, 28. Athens apponts Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, generals, 32. triumphant departure of the fleet, 41. it arrives in Sicily, 43. the Athenians recall Alcibiades, and condemn him to die, 45. after ſome actions, they beſiege Syracuſe, 52. they undertake ſeveral works that reduce the city to extremities, 62. they are defeated by ſea and land, 65, &c. they hazard a ſecond battle by ſea, and are defeated, 80. they reſolve to retire by land, 84. they are reduced to ſurrender themſelves to the Syracuſans, 88. their generals are put to death, 89. conſternation of Athens upon this defeat, 92

The Athenians are abandoned by their allies, IV. 93. the return of Alcibiades to Athens is concerted, 99. the four hundred inveſted with all authority at Athens, 102. their power is annulled, 106. Alcibiades is recalled, *ibid.* he occaſions the gaining of ſeveral great advantages by the Athenians, 107. the Athenians elect him generaliſſimo, 112. their fleet is defeated near Epheſus, 118. the command is taken from Alcibiades, 119. they gain a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near the Arginuſæ, 123. they are entirely defeated by the latter near Ægoſpotamos, 134. Athens, beſieged by Lyſander, capitulates and ſurrenders, 140

Thirty tyrants inſtituted to govern Athens, by Lyſander, IV. 153. ſhe recovers her liberty, 157, &c. ſhe enters into the league formed againſt the Lacedæmonians, 238. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, 250. the Athenians aid the Theban exiles, V. 123. they repent it preſently after, 132. they renew the alliance with the Thebans, 134. they declare againſt the latter for the Lacedæmonians, 153. many of the Athenian allies

allies revolt, 204. generals employed to reduce them, *ibid.* &c. alarm of the Athenians, occasioned by the preparations for war made by the king of Persia, 210. they send aid to the Megalopolitans, 215. and afterwards to the Rhodians, 218

The Athenians suffer themselves to be amused by Philip, 255. Demosthenes endeavours in vain to rouse them from their lethargy, 273, &c. Athens joins the Lacedæmonians against Philip, 296. the Athenians under Phocion drive Philip out of Eubœa, 297. &c. they oblige that prince to raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 307. they form a league with the Thebans against Philip, immoderate joy of Athens upon that prince's death, 332. the Athenians form a league against Alexander, VI. 13. that prince pardons them, 18. conduct of the Athenians in respect to Harpalus, 265

Rumours and joy at Athens, upon the news of Alexander's death, VII. 9. the Athenians march against Antipater, 12. they are victorious at first, 13. and are afterwards reduced to submit, 18. Antipater makes himself master of their city, *ibid.* Phocion is condemned to die by the Athenians, 47. Cassander takes Athens, 54. he makes choice of Demetrius Phalerus to govern the republic, *ibid.* Athens taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 104. excessive honours rendered to Antigonus and his son Demetrius by the Athenians, 106. Athens besieged by Cassander, and delivered by Demetrius, 141. excessive flattery of Demetrius by the Athenians, 142. Athens shuts its gates against Demetrius, 150. he takes that city, 155. Athens declares against Antigonus Gonatus, 254. and is taken by that prince, who puts a garrison into it, 255

The Athenians carry their complaints against Philip to Rome, VIII. 137. that prince besieges their city, 141. decrees of Athens against Philip, 149. she sends three famous philosophers upon an embassy to Rome, and wherefore, IX. 121. Athens taken by Archelaus, X. 80. Aristion makes himself tyrant of that city, *ibid.* his cruelties there, 81. it is besieged and retaken by Sylla, *ibid.* &c.

Government of Athens, IV. 334. foundation of the government instituted by Solon, 355. inhabitants of Athens, 358. senate, 361. Areopagus, 364. magistrates, 366. assemblies of the people, 367. other tribunals, 369. revenues of Athens, 375. education of youth, 376. different species of troops, of which the armies of Athens were composed, 387. choice of the generals, V. 336. equipment of gallies at Athens, 237. exemptions and honours granted by that city to those who had rendered it great services, 241. orations pronounced by order of the state in honour of those who had died for their country, 325. of religion, I. 30. feasts of the Panathenæa, 33. Bacchus, 36. and Eleusis, 38

Peculiar character of the people of Athens, IV. 398. easily enraged, and soon appeased, *ibid.* sometimes ungrateful to their generals, and those who had served them best, 119. humane to their enemies, 158. taste of the Athenians for the arts and sciences, 401. their passion for the representations of the thea-

tre, I. 92. common character of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, IV. 404
Athletæ. Etymology of the word, I. 66. exercises of the Athletæ, 67. trial through which they passed before they fought, *ibid.* rewards granted to them when victorious, 83
Athlothetæ, their function, I. 66
Athos, famous mountain of Macedonia, III. 179
Atossa, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon, V. 196
Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Cambyces first, and after of Smerdis the Magus, II. 369. she is at last married to Darius, III. 94. Democedes cures her of a dangerous distemper, 101. she persuades Darius to send him into Greece, and why, 102. she is called Vashti in Scripture, 106
Atræus, son of Pelops, king of Mycenæ, III. 12
Atropates, one of Alexander's generals: Provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5. he causes himself to be declared king of them, 38
Attalus I. king of Pergamus, VII. 283. war between that prince and Seleucus, VIII. 2. Attalus joins the Romans in the war against Philip, 77. he gains several advantages over that prince, 129. he dies, 170. his magnificent use of his riches, *ibid.*
Attalus II. surnamed Philadelphus, prevails upon the Achæans to revoke their decree against his brother, IX. 40. he comes ambassador to Rome, 97. he reigns in Cappadocia as guardian to Attalus his nephew, 117. war between Attalus and Prusias, 118. death of Attalus, 202
Attalus III. surnamed Philometor goes to Rome, and why, IX. 119. he ascends the throne of Cappadocia, after the death of his uncle, and causes him to be much regretted by his vices, 207. he dies, and by his will leaves his dominions to the Roman people, 209
Attalus, Syracusan, discovers the intelligence held by Marcellus in Syracuse to Epicydes, X. 47
Attalus, Philip's lieutenant, is sent by that prince into Asia Minor, V. 328, marriage of his niece Cleopatra with Philip, *ibid.* Alexander's quarrel with Attalus in the midst of the feast, 328. Alexander causes him to be assassinated, VI. 14
Attica, divided by Cecrops into twelve cantons, III. 12. See Athens.
Atyadæ, descendants of Atys, II. 234
Atys, son of Cræsus; good qualities of that prince, II. 244. his death, *ibid.*
Augurs: Puerilities of that science, I. 45.
Augustus. See Cæsar Augustus.
Autophradates, governor of Lydia for Artaxerxes Mnemon, is charged by that prince with the war against Datames, IV. 273. he is defeated, *ibid.* and retires into his government, 274. he joins with the provinces of Asia in their revolt against Artaxerxes, V. 194
Axiochus, Athenian, takes upon him the defence of the generals condemned to die after the battle of Arginusæ, IV. 131
Axithea, wife of Nicocles, kills herself, VII. 89
Azarias, one of the three Hebrews, miraculously preserved in the midst of the flames, II. 214
Azotus, a city of Palestine, I. 253

B.

Baal. See Bel.

Babel, description of that tower, II. 91

Babylon, Babylonians; foundation of the city of Babylon, II. 178. description of that city, 185. kings of Babylon, 203. duration of its empire, 305. siege and taking of that city by Cyrus, 314. it revolts against Darius, III. 107. that prince reduces it to obedience, 110. destruction of Babylon foretold in several parts of the Scripture, II. 305. curse pronounced against that city, 318. eagerness of princes to destroy it, 319. The Babylonians laid the first foundations of astronomy, 418

Bacchidas, eunuch of Mithridates, X. 113

Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia under Antiochus Epiphanes and Demetrius Soter, is defeated in many engagements by Judas Maccabæus, IX. 179, &c.

Bacchis, whose descendants reigned at Corinth, III. 15

Bacchus, feasts instituted at Athens in honour of him, I. 36

Bacchylides, Greek poet, III. 354

Bactriana, province of Upper Asia, I. 27

Bœtica, part of old Spain, I. 305.

Bagoas, eunuch of Ochus, commands a detachment during that prince's expedition against Egypt, V. 224. he poisons Ochus, 229. he places Arses upon the throne of Persia, *ibid.* he causes that prince to be put to death, and places Darius Codomanus upon the throne in his stead, *ibid.* he falls into the hands of Alexander, VI. 165. he gains the ascendant of that prince, 166. by his intrigues he causes Orsines to be put to death, 261. &c.

Bagophanes, governor of the citadel of Babylon, surrenders to Alexander, VI. 136.

Bagorazus, Artaxerxes's eunuch, is put to death by order of Xerxes, IV. 2.

Bala. See Alexander Bala.

Baleares, islands: Why so called, I. 303

Balthazar, or Belshazzar, king of Babylon, called also Labynit, or Nabonid, II. 219. he is besieged in Babylon by Cyrus, 314. he gives a great feast to his whole court the same night that city is taken, *ibid.* he is killed in his palace, 317. his death foretold in Scripture, 314.

Barca. See Hamilcar, surnamed Barca.

Barsina, wife of Alexander, VII. 7. Polysperchon puts her to death, 98

Basket. Procession of the basket at Athens, I. 42.

Bastards: Law of Athens against them, III. 387

Bastarnæ, people of Sarmatia in Europe; their character, IX. 2

Battalion, sacred, of the Thebans, V. 137

Battles and Combats celebrated in ancient history. Near the coasts of Myle, II. 5. near Ecnomus, 7. of Ticinus, 58. of Trebia, 62. of Thrasymenus, 67. of Cannæ, 75. of Zama, 100. of Thymbræa, 287. of Marathon, III. 152. of Thermopylæ, 200. of Artemisium, 205. of Salamin, 212. of Platææ, 223. of Mycale, 239. of the river Eurymedon, 284. of Arginusæ, IV. 123. of Ægospotamos, 134. of Cunaxa, 172. of Leuctra, V. 141. of Mantinæa 172, &c. of Cheronæa, 319. of the Granicus, VI. 28. of Issus, 50. of Arbela, 129. of the Hydaspes, 225. Ipsus, 237.

of Selasia, VII. 352. of Raphia, VIII. 19. of Caphyia, 29. of Elis, 81, &c. of Octolophos, 145. of Cynoscephal, 172. of Thermopylæ, III. 200. of Mount Corychus, VIII. 246. of Elea, 249. of Myonesus, 252. of Magnesia, 258. of Bethsura, 414. of the river Peneus, IX. 27. of Pydna, 70. of Leucopetra, 139. of Cabiræ, X. 112. of Arsamia, 134. of Actium, 210

Bee, name given Sophocles, I. 100

Bel, divinity adored by the Assyrians; temple erected in honour of him, II. 191

Belegis, king of Babylon. See Nabonassar.

Belgius, at the head of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Macedonia, VII. 200. he defeats Ceraunus, and is defeated himself, 201

Belus, name given Amenophis, I. 234. and to Nimrod, II. 178

Belus the Assyrian, II. 178

Berenice, wife of Ptolemy Soter, VII. 155. ascendant of that princess over her husband, *ibid.*

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, marries Antiochus Theos, VII. 267. Antiochus repudiates her, 274. Laodice causes her to be put to death, 275

Berenice, wife of Ptolemy Evergetes, VII. 278. Ptolemy Philopater causes her to be put to death, VIII. 15. Berenice's hair, VII. 278

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Lathyrus. See Cleopatra.

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns in Egypt during her father's absence, X. 165. she marries Seleucus Cibiosactes, and then causes him to be put to death, 172. she marries Archelaus, *ibid.* Ptolemy puts her to death, 174

Berenice, wife of Mithridates, X. 113. unhappy death of that princess, 114

Berosus, historian, VII. 260

Bessus, chief of the Bactrians, betrays Darius, and puts him in chains, VI. 150. he assassinates that prince, 134. he is seised and delivered up to Alexander, 182. that prince causes him to be executed, 193

Bestia, (Calpurnius,) is sent by the Romans against Jugurtha, II. 69. his conduct in that war, *ibid.*

Bethulia, city of Israel: Siege of that city by Holophernes, II. 229

Bias, one of the seven sages of Greece, III. 84

Bibius, commander in Ætolia for the Romans, IX. 136. his conduct in that province, 397

Biblos, city of Phœnicia, VI. 70

Bibulus (M. Calpurnius) is appointed by the Romans to command in Syria after the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, IX. 316. his incapacity, *ibid.*

Bisaltæ, people of Thrace: Valiant action of one of their kings, III. 199

Bithynia, province of Asia Minor, I. 28. kings of Bithynia, 157. Mithridates possesses himself of it, X. 79. it is reduced into a province of the Roman empire, 160

Biton and Cleobis, Argives, models of fraternal friendship, II. 240.

Bocchus, king of Mauritania, Jugurtha's father-in-law, II. 173. he delivers up his son to the Romans, *ibid.*

Bœotia, part of Greece, III. 3. unjust prejudice against that country, V. 179

Bœotians. See Thebans.
Bœotarch, principal magiſtrate of Thebes, V. 126
Boges, governor of Eione for the king of Perſia, III. 280. his exceſs of bravery, 281
Boli, Cretan: His ſtratagem and treaſon to Achæus, VIII. 24
Bomilcar, Carthaginian general, makes himſelf tyrant of Carthage, I. 339. he is put to death, 337
Boſphorus Cimmerian, country ſubject to Mithridates, X. 152
Boſtar, commander of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, is murthered by the mercenaries, II. 36
Brachmans, Indian philoſophers, VI. 234. their opinions, employments, and manner of living, 235, &c.
Branchidæ, family of Miletus, ſettled by Xerxes in the Upper Aſia, and deſtroyed by Alexander the Great, VI. 181
Braſidas, Lacedæmonian general, diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the ſiege of Pylos, III. 408. his expeditions into Thrace, IV. 8. he takes Amphipolis, 9. he defends that place againſt Cleon, and receives a wound of which he dies, 14
Brennus, general of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Pannonania, VII. 200. Macedonia, 201. and Greece, 203. he periſhes in the laſt enterpriſe, *ibid.*
Bruchion, quarter of the city of Alexandria, X. 183
Bucephalia, city built by Alexander, VI. 11
Bucephalus, war-horſe, backed by Alexander, VI. 10. wonders related of that horſe, *ibid.*
Burial of the dead in the earth, II. 433. burials of kings amongſt the Scythians, III. 112. care of the ancients to procure burial for the dead, IV. 126.
Burning-glaſs, by the means of which Archimedes is ſaid to have burnt the Roman fleet, X. 45
Buſiris, king of Egypt, I. 232.
Buſiris, brother of Amenophis, infamous for his cruelty, I. 241
Byblos, city of the iſle of Proſopitis, III. 291
Byzantium, city of Thrace, delivered by the Greeks from the power of the Perſians, III. 252: it ſubmits to the Athenians, IV. 110. ſiege of Byzantium by Philip, V. 303.

C.

Cabiræ, city of Aſia, famous for Lucullus's victory over Mithridates X. 112
Cadiz, city of Spain, I. 305
Cadmus, Phœnician, ſeiſes Bœotia, and builds Thebes there, III. 13. it was he who introduced the uſe of letters in Greece, I. 241
Caduſians, people of Aſſyria: they ſubmit to Cyrus, II. 280. revolt of the Caduſians againſt Artaxerxes, IV. 266. Tiribaſus makes them return to their duty, 267
Cadyti, name given to the city of Jeruſalem by Herodotus, I. 257
Cœleſtis, Urania, or the moon, goddeſs of the Carthaginians, I. 272
Cæſar, (Julius) his power at Rome, X. 140. he reſtores Ptolemy Auletes, 164. he goes to Egypt in hopes of finding Pompey there, 178. he makes himſelf judge between Ptolemy and his ſiſter Cleopatra, 180. Cæſar's paſſion for that princeſs, 181, 189. battles between his troops and the Alexandrians, 183. he gives the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra and Ptolemy, 182. he confirms the Jews in their privileges, 190. he gains

a great victory over Pharnaces, and drives him out of the kingdom of Pontus, 190. he is killed soon after, 191
Cæsar (Octavius) afterwards furnamed Augustus, joins with Anthony and Lepidus to avenge Cæsar's death, X. 191. he quarrels with Anthony, 201. he gains a great victory over him at the battle of Actium, 210. he goes to Egypt, 214. he besieges Alexander, *ibid.* interview of Cæsar and Cleopatra, 219. he is deceived by that princess, whom he was in hopes of deceiving, 221
Cæsario, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, X. 189. he is proclaimed king of Egypt jointly with his mother, 202
Cara, city of Pontus, taken from Mithridates by Pompey, X. 154
Cairo, its famous castle in Egypt, I. 170
Calanus, Indian philosopher, comes to the court of Alexander the Great, VI. 238. he dies voluntarily upon a funeral pile, 261, &c.
Calcidæus, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, concludes a treaty with Tissaphernes, IV. 95
Callas, son of Harpalus, officer in Alexander's army, VI. 25
Callias, citizen of Athens, is cited before the judges upon account of Aristides, III. 264. he is appointed plenipotentiary for Athens to Artaxerxes, III. 311
Callibius, Spartan, is appointed governor of the citadel of Athens, IV. 141
Callicrates, Spartan, kills Epaminondas in the battle of Mantinæa, V. 175
Callicrates, deputed by the Achæans to Rome, betrays them, VIII. 331. he prevents the Achæans from aiding the two brothers, Ptolemies, against Antiochus, 391. he impeaches all the Achæans, who had seemed to favour Perseus, to the Romans, IX. 109
Callicratidas succeeds Lysander in the command of the Lacedæmonian fleet, IV. 120. he goes to the court of Cyrus the Younger, 122. he is defeated near the islands of Arginusæ, and killed in the battle, 124, &c.
Callimachus, polemarch at Athens, joins the party of Miltiades, III. 154
Callimachus, governor of Amisus for Mithridates, defends that city against Lucullus, and then sets it on fire, X. 116
Calippus, Athenian, assassinates Dion, and seises the tyranny of Syracuse, V. 90, &c. he is soon after assassinated himself, *ibid.*
Calisthenes, philosopher in the train of Alexander, VI. 208. that prince causes him to be put to death, 210. character of that philosopher, 211
Callixenes, Athenian orator, accuses the Athenian generals falsely in the senate, IV. 128. he is punished soon after, 130
Calpurnius Bestia. See Bestia.
Calvinus (Domitius) commands in Asia for Cæsar, X. 183
Calumniators, or False Accusers. Punishment of them in Egypt, I. 198
Cambylus, general in the service of Antiochus, betrays Achæus, and delivers him up to that prince, VIII. 24
Cambyses, father of Cyrus, king of Persia, II. 249
Cambyses, son of Cyrus, ascends the throne of Persia, II. 355. he enters Egypt with an army, 356. and makes himself master of it, *ibid.* his rage against the body of Amasis, 358. his expedition

pedition againſt Ethiopia, *ibid.* on his return he plunders the temples of the city of Thebes, 360. he kills the god Apis, 361. he puts his brother Smerdis to death, 362. he kills Meroe, his ſiſter and wife, 363. he prepares to march againſt Smerdis the Magus, who had uſurped the throne, 367. he dies of a wound which he gives himſelf in the thigh, *ibid.*

Camiſares, Carian, governor of Leuco-Syria, periſhes in the expedition of Artaxerxes againſt the Caduſians, IV. 266.

Canaanites: Origin of that people, I. 231

Candaules, king of Lydia, II. 235

Candia, iſland. See Crete.

Canidius, Anthony's lieutenant, X. 210.

Cannæ, city of Apulia, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, II. 75

Caphis, Phocæan, Sylla's friend, is ſent by that general to Delphi, to receive the treaſures of it, X. 81. religious terror of Caphis, *ibid.*

Caphya, a city of Peloponneſus, known by the defeat of Aratus, VIII. 29

Cappadocia, province of Aſia Minor, I. 29. kings of Cappadocia, 160. it is reduced into a Roman province, IX. 335.

Capua, city of Italy, abandons the Romans, and ſubmits to Hannibal, II. 82. it is beſieged by the Romans, 86. the tragical end of its principal inhabitants, 88.

Caranus, firſt king of Macedonia, III. 15

Carbo: oppreſſions committed by him at Rome, X. 93

Cardia, city of the Cherſoneſus, V. 291

Caria, province of Aſia Minor, I. 28.

Caridemus, of Orœa, is baniſhed Athens, VI. 18. he is perſecuted by Alexander, and retires to Darius Codomanus, *ibid.* his ſincerity occaſions his death, 45, &c.

Carmania, province of Perſia, VI. 256.

Carræ, a city famous for the defeat of Craſſus, IX. 302

Carthage. Carthaginians. Foundation of Carthage, I. 398. its augmentation, 301. conqueſts of the Carthaginians in Africa, *ibid.* in Sardinia, 303. they poſſeſs themſelves of the Balearian iſles, *ibid.* in Spain, 305. they land in Spain, 306. and in Sicily, 308. firſt treaty between Rome and Carthage, 309. the Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes, *ibid.* they are defeated in Sicily by Gelon, 311. they take ſeveral places in Sicily under Hannibal, 313. and Imilcon, *ibid.* they make a treaty with Dionyſius, 316. war between the Carthaginians and Dionyſius, I. 318. they beſiege Syracuſe, 319. they are defeated by Dionyſius, 320. the plague rages in Carthage, 323. ſecond treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, *ibid.* the Carthaginians endeavour to ſeize Sicily after the re-eſtabliſhment of Dionyſius the Younger, 324. they are defeated by Timoleon, *ibid.* war of the Carthaginians with Agathocles, at firſt in Sicily, I. 328. and after in Africa, 330. they ſuſtain a war in Sicily againſt Pyrrhus, 340. The Carthaginians are called in to aid the Mamertines, who give them poſſeſſion of their citadel, II. 3. they are driven out of it by the Romans, 4. they ſend a numerous army into Sicily, *ibid.* they loſe a battle, which is followed with the taking

taking of Agrigentum, their place of arms, *ibid.* they are beat at ſea, firſt near the coaſt of Myle, 5. and after at Ecnomus, 7. they ſuſtain the war againſt Regulus in Africa, 8. puniſhment inflicted by them upon that general, 17. they loſe a battle at ſea, in ſight of Sicily, 18. ardour of the Carthaginians, in defence of Lilybæum, their fleet is entirely defeated near the iſland Ægates, 23. they make a treaty of peace with the Romans, which terminates this war, 24. war of the Carthaginians with the mercenaries, 26

The Carthaginians are obliged to abandon Sardinia to the Romans, II. 37. they beſiege and take Saguntum, 45. war between the two ſtates again, 46. The Carthaginians paſs the Rhone, 49. then the Alps 53. their entrance into Italy, 57. they gain ſeveral victories over the Romans, near the Ticinus, 58, &c. near Trebia, 62. near Thraſymene, 67. they loſe ſeveral battles in Spain, 74. they gain a famous victory over the Romans at Cannæ, 75. bad ſucceſs of the Carthaginians, 86. &c. they are attacked in Africa by the Romans, 95. they recall Hannibal from Italy, *ibid.* they are entirely defeated at Zama, 100. they demand peace of the Romans, *ibid.* and obtain it, 101. differences between the Carthaginians and Maſſiniſſa, 123. third war of the Carthaginians and Romans, 130. Carthage ſends deputies to Rome to declare that it ſubmits to the diſcretion of the Romans, 134. the latter order the Carthaginians to abandon their city, 136. the Carthaginians reſolve to defend themſelves, 139. the Romans beſiege Carthage, 140. it is taken and demoliſhed by Scipio, 150. it is rebuilt by Cæſar, 155. the Saracens deſtroy it entirely, *ibid.*

Carthage formed upon the model of Tyre, I. 269. religion of the Carthaginians, 271. their barbarous worſhip of Saturn, 273. government of the Carthaginians, 277. ſuffetes, 278. ſenate, 279. people, 280. tribunal of the hundred, *ibid.* defects in the government of Carthage, 282. the courts of juſtice and the finances reformed by Hannibal, 284. wiſe cuſtom of the Carthaginians in ſending colonies into different countries, 285. commerce of Carthage, the principal ſource of its riches and power, *ibid.* diſcovery of the gold and ſilver mines in Spain by the Carthaginians, ſecond ſource of the riches and power of Carthage, 286. military power of Carthage, 288. arts and ſciences in little eſteem there, 291. characters, manners, and qualities of the Carthaginians, 295.

Carthagena, city of Spain, II. 40.

Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary troops of the Carthaginians, declared guilty of treaſon, and why, II. 130

Caſſander, general of the Thracians and Pæonians, in the army of Alexander, VI. 25

Caſſander, ſon of Antipater, VI. 285. provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, VII. 6. he puts Demades and his ſon to death, 42. he is aſſociated with Polyſperchon in the regency of the kingdom of Macedonia, 43. he takes Athens, 54. and eſtabliſhes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of it, *ibid.* he puts Olympias to death, 66. he confines Roxana, the wife of Alexander, with Alexander

Alexander her ſon, in the caſtle of Amphipolis, 67. he re-inſtates the city of Thebes, 68. he enters into the league formed againſt Antigonus, 84. he concludes a treaty with him, and breaks it immediately, 88. he puts to death the young king, Alexander, with his mother Roxana, 98. he beſieges Athens of which Demetrius Polioreetes had made himſelf maſter, 141. the latter obliges him to raiſe the ſiege and defeats him near Thermopylæ, *ibid.* Caſſander concludes a league, againſt Antigonus and Demetrius, 143. after the battle of Ipſus, he divides the empire of Alexander with three other princes, 147. death of Caſſander, 153

Caſſander, Macedonian, by Philip's order maſſacres the inhabitants of Maronæa, VIII. 315. that prince cauſes him to be put to death, 316

Caſſius (Lucius) Roman general, is defeated by Mithridates, X. 78

Caſſius, quæſtor of Craſſus's army in the war with the Parthians, IX. 295. he puts himſelf at the head of the remains of that army, and prevents the Parthians from ſeiſing Syria, 316. he forms a conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, X. 191. he is entirely defeated by Anthony, *ibid.*

Cat, veneration of the Egyptians for that animal, II. 356

Cataracts of the Nile, I. 180

Cato (M. Portius) ſurnamed the Cenſor, ſerves as lieutenant-general under the conſul Aelius, VIII. 238. his valour at the paſs of Thermopylæ, *ibid.* he ſpeaks in favour of the Rhodians in the ſenate, IX. 103. he obtains the return of the exiles for the Achæans, 113. his conduct in reſpect to Carneades, and the other Athenian ambaſſadors, 121. he is appointed by the commonwealth to depoſe Ptolemy king of Cyprus, and to confiſcate his treaſures, 258

Cato, ſon of the former, acts prodigies of valour at the battle of Pydna, IX. 77.

C. Cato, tribune of the people, oppoſes the re-eſtabiſhment of Ptolemy, X. 168.

Caythæans, people of India, ſubjected by Alexander, VI. 234

Cebalinus diſcovers the conſpiracy of Dymnus againſt Alexander, VI. 171

Cecrops, founder of Athens, III. 12. he inſtitutes the Areopagus, *ibid.*

Celenæ, city of Phrygia, famous for the river of Marſyas, VI. 38

Cendebæus, general of Antiochus Sidetes, is defeated in Jeruſalem by Judas and John, IX. 202.

Cenſorinus (L. Marcus.) conſul, marches againſt Carthage, II. 133. he notifies the ſenate's orders to that city, 136. he forms the ſiege of Carthage, 140

Ceraſus, a city of Cappadocia, famous for its cherries, IV. 200

Ceres, goddeſs: Feaſts inſtituted in honour of her at Athens, I. 38

Cerethrius, one of the generals of the Gauls, who made an irruption in Greece, VII. 200

Ceryces, prieſts at Athens, I. 37

Ceſar. See Cæſar.

Ceſtus, offenſive Arms of the Athletæ, I. 71

Cetthim, ſon of Javin, and father of the Macedonians, III. 7.

Chabrias, Athenian, without order of the commonwealth accepts the command of the auxiliary troops of Greece in the pay of Achoris, V. 186. he is recalled by the Athenians, *ibid.* he ſerves Taehos again without the conſent of his republic, 191. the

191. the Athenians employ him in the war againſt their allies, 204. he dies at the ſiege of Chio, 207. praiſe of Chabrias, 205
Chærephon, diſciple of Socrates, IV. 286
Chæronea, city of Bœotia, famous for Philip's victory over the Athenians and Thebans; and for that of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates, V. 319
Chalcioicos, a temple of Minerva, at Sparta, VII. 320
Chalcis, city of Ætolia, III. 5
Chaldæans, addicted to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, II. 421. the ſect of Sabæans formed of them, 429
Cham, ſon of Noah, worſhipped in Africa under the name of Jupiter Ammon, I. 231
Chares, one of the generals of the Athenians in the war with the allies, V. 207. his little capacity, 208. he writes to Athens againſt his two colleagues, *ibid.* he ſuffers himſelf to be corrupted by Artabaſus, 203. he is recalled to Athens, 204. he is ſent to the aid of the Cherſoneſus, 302. the cities refuſe to open their gates to him, 303. he is defeated at Chæronea by Philip, 319
Chares, of Lindus, makes the Coloſſus of Rhodes, VII. 135
Charilaus made king of Sparta by Lycurgus, III. 22
Chariots armed with ſcythes much uſed by the ancients in battles. II. 399.
Charitimi, Athenian general, ſupports Inarus in his revolt againſt the Perſians, III. 290
Charon: His boat; origin of that fable, I. 212.
Charon, Theban, receives Pelopidas and the conſpirators into his houſe, V. 124. he is elected Bœotarch, 130
Charondas is choſen legiſlator at Thurium, III. 363. he kills himſelf upon his having broken one of his own laws, 364
Chaſe, or Hunting; exerciſe much uſed amongſt the ancients, IV. 380.
Chelidonida, daughter of Leotychidas, and wife of Cleonymus, VII. 240. her paſſion for Acrotates, *ibid.*
Chelonida, wife of Cleombrotus, VII. 324 her tenderneſs for her huſband, 325
Cheops and Cephrænus, kings of Egypt, and brothers, equally inhuman and impious, I. 244
Chilo, one of the ſeven ſages of Greece. III. 83
Chilo, Lacedæmonian, attempts to aſcend the throne of Sparta, but ineffectually, VIII. 42
Chiriſophus, Lacedæmonian, is choſen general by the troops that made the retreat of the Ten Thouſand, IV. 202
Chleneas, deputy from the Ætolians to Sparta to perſuade that city to enter into the treaty concluded with the Romans, VIII. 77
Choaſpes, river of Babylonia, famous for the goodneſs of its waters, VI. 139.
Chœnix, meaſures of corn amongſt the ancients, III. 408.
Chorus incorporated with tragedy, I. 97
Chriſtians: the refuſal of the Jews to work in rebuilding the temple of Belus, a leſſon of inſtruction for many Chriſtians, VI. 282
Chryſantes, commander in the army of Cyrus at the battle of Thymbræa, II. 290
Chynaladanus. See Saracus.
Cicero (M. Tullius) his military exploits in Syria, IX. 316. he refuſes a triumph, and why, 318. by his credit he cauſes Pompey

Pompey to be appointed general against Mithridates, X. 140. his counsel to Lentulus, upon reinstating Ptolemy Auletes, 170. he discovers the tomb of Archimedes, 56. parallel between Cicero and Demosthenes, VII. 22

Cilicia, province of Asia Minor, I. 29

Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, loses a battle against Demetrius, who takes him prisoner, VII. 91

Cimmerians, people of Scythia. They are driven out of their country, and go to Asia, II. 237. Halyattes king of Lydia obliges them to quit it, *ibid.*

Cimon, son of Miltiades, when very young, signalizes himself by his piety to his father, III. 162. he encourages the Athenians by his example to abandon their city, and to embark, 209. he distinguishes himself at the battle of Salamin, 219. he commands the fleet sent by the Greeks to deliver their allies from the Persian yoke, in conjunction with Aristides, 252. the Athenians place Cimon at the head of their armies after Themistocles retires, 279. he makes several conquests in Thrace, and settles a colony there, 280. he makes himself master of the isle of Scyros, where he finds the bones of Theseus, which he brings to Athens, 281. his conduct in the division of the booty with the allies, 282. Cimon gains two victories over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon, in one day, 285. worthy use which he makes of the riches taken from the enemy, *ibid.* he makes new conquests in Thrace, 286. he marches to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, attacked by the Helots, 308. he is banished by the Athenians, 309. he quits his retreat, and repairs to his tribe to fight the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* he is recalled from banishment, 310. he re-establishes peace between Athens and Sparta, *ibid.* he gains many victories, which oblige the Persians to conclude a treaty highly glorious for the Greeks, 311. he dies during the conclusion of the treaty, 312. character and praise of Cimon, 279. use which he made of riches, 282

Cineas, Thessalian, famous orator, courtier of Pyrrhus, VII. 212. his conversation with that prince, *ibid.* 213. Pyrrhus sends him ambassador to Rome, 220. his conduct during his stay there, 221. idea which he gives Pyrrhus of the Roman senate, *ibid.*

Cinna, his oppressions and cruelties at Rome, X. 93

Cios, city of Bythinia. Philip's cruel treatment of the inhabitants of that city, VIII. 130

Claros, city of Ionia, famous for the oracles of Apollo, I. 49

Claudius (Appius) See Appius.

Claudius (Cento) Roman officer, is sent by Sulpitius to the aid of Athens, VIII. 139. he ravages the city of Chalcis, *ibid.*

Claudius (C) sent by the Romans into Achaia: his conduct in respect to that people, IX. 109

Clazomenæ, city of Ionia, III. 18

Cleades, Theban, endeavours to excuse the rebellion of his country to Alexander, VI. 16

Cleander, Alexander's lieutenant in Media, assassinates Parmenio by his order, VI. 179

Clearchus, Lacedæmonian captain, takes refuge with Cyrus the Younger, IV. 166. he is placed at the head of the Greek troops in that prince's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes,

erxes, 168. he is victorious on his side at the battle of Cunaxa, 175. he commands the Greek troops in their retreat after the battle, 184. he is seised by treachery, and sent to Artaxerxes, who causes him to be put to death, 189. praise of Clearchus, 190

Cleobis and Biton, brothers, models of fraternal affection, II. 240

Cleobulus, one of the seven sages of Greece, III. 85

Cleocritus, of Corinth appeases the dispute between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians after the battle of Platææ, III. 234

Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, marches against the Thebans, V. 140. he is killed at the battle of Leuctra, 143

Cleombrotus, son-in-law of Leonidas, causes himself to be elected king of Sparta to the prejudice of his father in-law, VII. 320, 321. he is dethroned soon after by Leonidas, 324. and banished from Sparta, 325

Cleomenes, governor of Egypt for Alexander, VI. 278

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, refuses to join the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, III. 137. he marches against the people of Ægina, 151. he effects the expulsion of his colleague Demaratus from the throne, *ibid.* he reduces the people of Ægina and dies soon after, *ibid.*

Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, marries Agiatis, VII. 330. he ascends the throne of Sparta, 332. he enters into a war with the Achæans, 333. he gains many advantages over them, *ibid.* &c. he reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline, 334. he gains new advantages over the Achæans, 336, &c. he sends his mother and children as hostages into Egypt, 346. he takes Megalopolis by surprise, 347. he is defeated at Selasia by Antigonus king of Macedonia, 357. &c. he retires into Egypt, 359. Ptolemy's reception of him, 361. he cannot obtain permission to return into his country, VIII. 33. unfortunate death of Cleomenes, 35. his character, 331

Cleon, Athenian, his extraction III. 374. by his credit with the people, he prevents the conclusion of a peace between Sparta and Athens, 410. he reduces the Lacedæmonians, shut up in the island of Sphacteria, 412. he marches against Brasidas, and advances to the walls of Amphipolis, IV. 9. surprised by Brasides, he flies and is killed by a soldier, 14

Cleonnis commands the troops of the Messenians in the first war with Sparta, I. 140. after the battle of Ithoma, he disputes the prize of valour with Aristomenes, 142. he afterwards disputes the crown with him on the death of king Euphaes, 144

Cleonymus, Spartan, being disappointed of the throne, retires to Pyrrhus, and engages him to march against Sparta, VII. 240. history of this Cleonymus, *ibid.*

Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, marries Philip king of Macedonia, V. 328

Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, is married to Alexander king of Epirus, V. 330. Antigonus causes her to be put to death, VII. 100

Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, is promised and then given in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, VIII. 155. after her husband's death she is declared regent of the kingdom,

and her ſon's guardian, 336.
death of that princeſs, 378.
Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes, makes an accommodation between her brothers Philometor and Evergetes, VIII. 378. after the death of Philometor her huſband, ſhe marries Phyſcon, IX. 190. that prince puts her away to marry one of her daughters, 218. the Alexandrians place her upon the throne in Phyſcon's ſtead, 219. ſhe is obliged to take refuge in Syria, 220
Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, is married to Alexander Bala, IX. 186. her father takes her from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, 188. whilſt her huſband is kept priſoner by the Parthians ſhe marries Antioehus Sidetes, 202. after the death of Sidetes, ſhe returns to Demetrius, 220. ſhe cauſes the gates of Ptolemais to be ſhut againſt him, 221. ſhe kills Seleucus her eldeſt ſon, 223. ſhe dies of poiſon which ſhe would have given her ſecond ſon Grypus, 225
Cleopatra, Philometor's daughter, marries Phyſcon, IX. 190. after her huſband's death, ſhe reigns in Egypt with her ſon Lathyrus, whom ſhe firſt obliges to repudiate his eldeſt ſiſter Cleopatra, and to marry his youngeſt ſiſter Selena, 226. ſhe gives her ſon Alexander the kingdom of Cyprus, 229. ſhe takes his wife Selena, from Lathyrus, drives him out of Egypt, and ſets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne, 234. ſhe aids this prinee againſt his brother, 235. ſhe marries Selena to Antiochus Grypus, 238. Alexander eauſes her to be put to death, 241
Cleopatra, Phyſcon's daughter, and wife of Lathyrus, is repudiated by her huſband, IX. 227. ſhe gives herſelf to Antioehus the Cyzicenian, *ibid.* Tryphæna her ſiſter cauſes her to be murdered, 228
Cleopatria, daughter of Lathyrus. See Berenice.
Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, aſeends the throne of Egypt in eonjunction with her eldeſt brother, X. 175. ſhe is dethroned by the young king's guardians, 176. ſhe raiſes troops to re-inſtate herſelf, *ibid.* ſhe repairs to Cæſar, and with what view, 181. Cæſar eſtabliſhes her queen of Egypt, jointly with her brother, 188. ſhe puts her brother to death, and reigns alone in Egypt, 191. after Cæſar's death ſhe declares for the Triumvirs, *ibid.* ſhe goes to Antony at Tarſus, 192. ſhe carries him to Alexandria, 196. her jealouſy of Octavia, 198. coronation of Cleopatra and her children, 202. ſhe aecompanies Antony in his expeditions, 203. the Romans declare war againſt her, 207. ſhe flies at the battle of Actium 209. and returns to Alexandria, 210. ſhe endeavours to gain Auguſtus, and deſigns to ſacrifice Antony to him, 211. ſhe retires into the tombs of the kings of Egypt, to avoid Antony's fury, 216. that Roman expires in her arms, 217. ſhe obtains permiſſion from Cæſar to bury Antony, 219. ſhe has a converſation with Cæſar, *ibid.* to avoid ſerving as an ornament in Cæſar's triumph ſhe dies by the bite of an aſpie, 221. eharacter of Cleopatra, 194. 213. her arts to keep Antony in her chains, 200. the taſte ſhe retained for polite learning and the ſeiences in the midſt of her exceſſes, 198.

Cleophe, mother of Aſſacanus, king of the Mazagæ, reigns after the death of her ſon, VI. 219. ſhe ſurrenders to Alexander, who re-inſtates her in her dominions, 220
Cleophon, Athenian orator, animates the Athenians againſt the Lacedæmonians, IV. 109. his character, *ibid.*
Clinias, citizen of Sicyon, is put to death by Abantidas, VII. 292
Clinias, Greek of the iſland of Cos, commands the Egyptians in their revolt againſt Ochus, and is killed in a battle, V. 225.
Cliſthenes, tyrant of Sicyon: His method in the choice of a ſon-in-law, III. 61
Cliſthenes, of the family of the Almæonidæ, forms a faction at Athens, III. 70. he is obliged to quit that place, but returns ſoon after, *ibid.*
Clitomachus, Carthaginian philoſopher, I. 292
Clitus, one of Alexander's captains, ſaves the life of that prince at the battle of the Granicus, VI. 30. Alexander gives him the government of the provinces of Artabaſus, 198. and kills him the ſame day at a feaſt, 199, &c.
Clitus, commander of Antipater's fleet, gains two victories over the Athenians, VII. 15. Antigonus takes the government of Lydia from him, 45
Clodius, Roman, is taken by pirates, againſt whom he had been ſent, IX. 257. he requeſts Ptolemy king of Cyprus to ſend him money for paying his ranſom, *ibid.* in reſentment to Ptolemy, he obtains an order from the Roman people for diſpoſſeſſing him of his dominions, 258
Clodius (Appius) is ſent by Lucullus to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates, X. 115, 118. his diſcourſe occaſions the army to revolt againſt Lucullus, 135. character of Clodius, *ibid.*
Clondicus, general of the Gauls, called in by Perſeus to his aid, IX. 60
Cnidos, a maritime city of Aſia Minor, famous for Conon's victory over the Lacedæmonians, IV. 243
Codrus, the laſt king of Athens, III. 13.
Cœloſyria, province of Aſia Minor, I. 30
Coenus, one of Alexander's captains, ſpeaks to him in behalf of his ſoldiers, VI. 243. his death, 244. his praiſe, 245
Colchis, province of Aſia, I. 27
Colonies, advantages derived from them by the ancients, I. 284
Coloſſus of Rhodes, Deſcription of it, VII. 135. fate of that famous ſtatue, 363
Combats celebrated by the ancients. See Battles.
Combats, public ones of Greece, I. 60. &c. why encouraged, 64. rewards granted to the victors, 85. difference of the Greeks and Romans in their taſte for theſe combats, 87. diſputes for the prizes of poetry 92
Comedian. The profeſſion of a comedian not diſhonourable amongſt the Greeks, I. 63. &c.
Comedy: its beginnings and origin, I. 107. comedy divided into three claſſes; the ancient, the middle, and the new, *ibid.*
Conon, Athenian general, is ſhut up by Cylliciratidas in the port of Mitylene, IV. 126. he is delivered ſoon after, *ibid.* he retires into Cyprus, after the defeat of the Athenians at Ægoſpotamos, 214. he goes to Artaxerxes, who makes him admiral of his fleet, 242. he defeats the Lacedæmonians

nians near Cnidos, 243. he rebuilds the walls of Athens, 250, he is sent by the Athenians to Terebasus, who imprisons him, 251. death of Conon, *ibid.* immunities granted by the Athenians to himself and his children, V. 243
Conon, of Samos, mathematician, VII. 278
Conquerors: In what manner the conquerors so much boasted in history are to be considered, I. 6, &c.
Consuls Roman: Solemnity of their setting out upon expeditions, IX. 22
Corcyra, island in the Ionian sea, with a city of the same name, III. 4. its inhabitants promise aid to the Greeks against the Persians, 193. dispute between Corcyra and Corinth, 330
Corinth, city of Greece; its different forms of government, III. 15. and Corcyra which occasions the Peloponnesian war, III. 329. Corinth sends aid to the Syracusans besieged by the Athenians, IV. 152. enters into a league against Sparta, 237. is besieged by Agesilaus, 249. sends Timoleon to the aid of Syracuse against Dionysius the Younger, V. 98. is obliged by the peace of Antalcides, to withdraw her garrison from Argos, 115. gives Alexander the freedom of the city, VI. 274. enters into the Achæan league, VII. 307. insults the deputies sent by Metellus to appease the troubles, IX. 136. the Romans destroy Corinth entirely, 140
Coriphæus, persons employed in theatrical representations, I. 100
Cornelia, Roman lady, mother of the Gracchi, rejects Physcon's proposal to marry her, IX. 174
Cornelia, Pompey's wife, sees her husband assassinated before her eyes, X. 178
Coronæa, city of Bœotia, famous for the victory of Agesilaus over the Thebans, IV. 245
Corvus (or Crane) machine of war, II. 6
Cos, island of Greece, Hippocrates's country, III. 379
Cotis, brother of Orodes, commands the army against the Albanians, X. 151. Pompey kills him in a battle, *ibid.*
Cosmi, magistrates of Crete, IV. 349
Cossæans, very warlike nation of Media, subjected by Alexander, VI. 272.
Cothon, name of the port of Carthage, II. 148
Cotta, Roman consul, is defeated by Mithridates, X. 106. his cruelties at Heraclea, 120
Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, declares for Perseus against the Romans, IX. 15
Courier. Invention of Couriers, II. 332
Course, or Racing: Exercise of it by the Greeks, I. 74. of the foot-race, 76. of the horse-race, 77. of the chariot race, 78
Cranaus, king of Athens, III. 12.
Crassus, consul, marches against the Parthians, IX. 288. he plunders the temple of Jerusalem, 289, 290. he continues his march against the Parthians, 291. he is entirely defeated near Carræ, 299. the Parthians, under pretence of an interview, seize and kill him, 315
Crassus, son of the former, accompanies his father in his expedition against the Parthians, IX. 290. he perishes in the battle of Carræ, 303
Craterus, one of the principal officers of Alexander, draws on the ruin of Philotas by his discourse, VI. 174. he speaks to

Alexander in the name of the army, and upon what occaſion, 248. that prince gives him the government of Macedonia, which Antipater had before, 271. provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, VII. 5. he marries Phila, Antipater's daughter, 25. he is defeated by Eumenes, and killed in the battle, 34, 35.

Craſteſiclea, mother of Cleomenes king of Sparta, is ſent by her ſon as an hoſtage into Egypt, VII. 345. generous ſentiments of that princeſs, *ibid.*

Crateſipolis, wife of Alexander, the ſon of Polyſperchon, corrects the inſolence of the Sicyonians, who had killed her huſband, and governs that city with wiſdom, VII. 69

Creſphontes, one of the chiefs of the Heraclidæ, re-enters Peloponneſus, where Meſſenia falls to him by lot, III. 17

Crete, iſland near Greece, deſcription of it, III. 5. laws of Greece inſtituted by Minos, IV. 345, &c. the Cretans refuſe to join the Greeks attacked by Xerxes, III. 193. they paſſed for the greateſt liars of antiquity, IV. 353

Criſpinus (Q.) ſucceeds Appius, who commanded with Marcellus at the ſiege of Syracuſe, X. 47

Critias, one of the thirty tyrants at Athens, cauſes Theramenes, one of his colleagues, to be put to death, IV. 153. he prohibits the inſtruction of the youth by Socrates, 155. he is killed fighting againſt Thraſybulus. 156

Crito, intimate friend of Socrates, cannot perſuade him to eſcape out of priſon, IV. 315

Critolaus, Peripatetic philoſopher, his embaſſy to Rome, IX. 121

Critolaus, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, animates them againſt the Romans, IX. 134, &c. he is killed in a battle, 137

Crocodile, amphibious animal adored in Egypt, I. 207

Cræſus, king of Lydia, II. 238. his conqueſts, *ibid.* his means to try the veracity of the oracles, 245. deceived by the anſwer of the oracle of Delphi, he undertakes a war with the Perſians, 246. he loſes a battle againſt Cyrus, 273. he is defeated near Thymbræa, 296. Cyrus beſieges him in Sardis, 299. and takes him priſoner, 300. in what manner he eſcaped the puniſhment to which he had been condemned, 302. character of Cræſus, 243. his riches, 238. his protection of the learned, *ibid.* his reception of Solon, *ibid.* his converſation with that philoſopher, 239. on what occaſion he dedicated a ſtatue of gold, in the temple of Delphi, to the woman who baked his bread, I. 59

Cromwell. His death compared with that of Dionyſius the Tyrant, V. 52

Croton, city of Greece, built by Myſcellus, III. 360

Crowns granted to the victorious combatants in the games of Greece, I. 63

Cteſias, of Cnidos, practiſes phyſic in Perſia with great reputation, IV. 215. his works place him in the number of the hiſtorians, *ibid.*

Cunaxa, city famous for the battle between Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus, IV. 172

Cyaxares I. reigns, in Media, II. 229. he forms the ſiege of Nineveh, *ibid.* an irruption of the

the Scythians, into Media, obliges him to raiſe the ſiege, 230. he beſieges Nineveh again and takes it, 231. his death, 233
Cyaxares II. called in Scripture Darius the Mede, aſcends the throne of Media, II. 234. he ſends to demand aid of Perſia againſt the Aſſyrians, 255. expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus againſt the Babylonians, 270. Cyaxares gives his daughter to Cyrus in marriage, 282. he goes to Babylon with that prince, and forms in concert with him the plan of the whole monarchy, 331. death of Cyaxares, 335
Cycliadus, preſident of the aſſembly of the Achæans held at Argos, eludes Philip's propoſal, VIII. 140
Cylon, known by taking the citadel at Athens, III. 335
Cynægirus, Athenian. His tenacious fierceneſs againſt the Perſians in a ſea-fight with them, III. 157
Cyniſca, ſiſter of Ageſilaus, diſputes the prize in the Olympic games, and is proclaimed victorious, I. 83
Cynoſcéphalæ, a hill in Theſſaly, famous for the victory of the Romans over Philip, VIII. 172
Cyprus, iſland in the Mediterranean, delivered from the Perſian yoke by the Greeks, III. 252. revolt of that iſland againſt Ochus, V. 220. it ſubmits, 323. horrible and bloody tragedy that paſſes there at the death of Nicocles, VII. 88, 89
Cypſelus, Corinthian, uſurps ſupreme authority at Corinth, and tranſmits it to his ſon, III. 15
Cyrene, city upon the coaſt of the Mediterranean: In what manner the diſpute between this city and Carthage, concerning their limits, is terminated, I. 303
Cyropolis, city of Sogdiana, deſtroyed by Alexander, VI. 185
Cyrus, ſon of Cambyſes, king of Perſia: Birth of that prince, II. 249. his education, *ibid.* he goes to the court of his grandfather Aſtyages, 251. his return into Perſia, 255. he marches to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares againſt the Babylonians, 257. he reduces the king of Armenia, 269. he gains a firſt advantage over Crœſus, and the Babylonians, 273. his conduct to Panthæa, 275. he challenges the king of the Aſſyrians to a ſingle combat, 280. he returns to Cyaxares, 281. that prince gives him his daughter in marriage, 282

Cyrus marches to meet the Babylonians, 286. he gains a famous victory over them and Crœſus at the battle of Thymbræa, 296. he makes himſelf maſter of Sardis, and takes Crœſus priſoner, 300. he advances to Babylon, 304. and takes it, 305. conduct of Cyrus after the taking of Babylon, 322. he ſhows himſelf with great pomp to the newly-conquered people, 328. he goes to Perſia, 331. at his return he carries Cyaxares to Babylon, and forms the plan of the whole monarchy, in concert with him, 332. after the death of Cyaxares, he reigns over the Medes and Perſians, 334. he paſſes a famous edict in favour of the Jews, 335. laſt years of Cyrus, 342. his death, and diſcourſe with his children before his death, 343. praiſe and character of Cyrus, 345, &c. his continual attention to render the Divinity the worſhip he thought due to him, 349. difference of Herodotus and Xenophon in reſpect to Cyrus the Great, 352.

Cyrus, the younger ſon of Darius, is made governor in chief of all the provinces of Aſia Minor by his father, IV. 7. his father recalls him, 131. after the death of Darius he forms the deſign of aſſaſſinating his brother, 145. he is ſent back into Aſia Minor, 146. he ſecretly raiſes troops againſt his brother, 165. he ſets out from Sardis, 169. the battle of Cunaxa, 172. he is killed in it, 176. praiſe of Cyrus, 180
Cythera, iſland of Greece, facing Laconia, IV. 8

D.

Dæmon, or familiar ſpirit of Socrates, IV. 283
Damippus, Syracuſan, ſent by Epicydes to negociate with Philip king of Macedonia, X. 47.
Damis diſputes with Ariſtomenes the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Meſſenia after the death of Euphaes, I. 144
Damocles learns by his own experience that the life of Dionyſius the tyrant was not ſo happy as it ſeemed, V. 50
Damocritus deputed to Nabis by the Ætolians, VIII. 211. his inſolent anſwer to Quintius, 224. he is made priſoner of war at the ſiege of Heraclea, 242
Damocritus, chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, cauſes war to be declared againſt the Lacedæmonians, IX. 133
Damon, friend of Pythias. Trial to which their friendſhip was put, V. 49
Danaus forms a deſign to murder Seſoſtris his brother, I. 241. he retires into Peloponneſus, where he ſeiſes the kingdom of Argos, *ibid.*
Dancing cultivated by the Greeks, IV. 376
Daniel, prophet, is carried into captivity to Babylon, II. 211. he explains Nebucadonoſor's firſt dream, 212. and the ſecond, 217. he is raiſed to the principal offices of the ſtate, 213. diſcovers the fraud of the prieſts of Bel, and cauſes the dragon to be killed, 218. viſions of the prophet Daniel, 338. he explains to Belſhazzar the viſion that prince had at a banquet, 220. he is made ſuperintendant of the affairs of the empire, 332. he is thrown into the lions' den, 333. at his requeſt Cyrus grants the edict, whereby the Jews are permitted to return to Jeruſalem, 335. Daniel's ſkill in architecture, 337. reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, *ibid.*
Daricks, pieces of gold ſtruck by Darius the Mede, II. 334
Darius the Mede: Cyaxares II. king of the Medes, is ſo called in Scripture. See Cyaxares.
Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes. He enters into the conſpiracy againſt Smerdis the Magian, II. 369. he runs him through with a ſword, 371. he is made king of Perſia by an artifice of his groom, 372. the eſteem he acquires by his wiſdom and prudence, 373. he quits the name of Ochus to aſſume that of Darius, III. 94. marriages of Darius, *ibid.* his method for tranſmitting to poſterity the manner in which he attained the ſovereignty, 95. order which he eſtabliſhes in the adminiſtration of the finances, *ibid.* his moderation in impoſing tributes, *ibid.* the Perſians give him the ſurname of the Merchant, 97. he ſends Democedes the phyſician into Greece, 100. he confirms the edict of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, 104. his gratitude

to Syloſon, whom he re-eſtabliſhes king of Samos, 106
Darius reduces Babylon after a ſiege of twenty months, 107. expedition of Darius againſt the Scythians, 120. Artabanus's remonſtrance to Darius, *ibid.* &c. barbarous actions of Darius to the three children of Oebaſus, 123. Darius conquers India, 131. he conceives the deſign of making himſelf maſter of Naxus, 133. the Ionians revolt againſt Darius, 134. he re-eſtabliſhes the Tyrians in their ancient privileges, *ibid.* reſentment conceived by Darius againſt the Athenians, who had ſhared in the burning of Sardis, 139. his expedition againſt Greece, 143. he ſends heralds into Greece, to ſound the ſtates, and to demand their ſubmiſſion, 151. his army is defeated at Marathon, 152, &c. Darius reſolves to go in perſon againſt Egypt and Greece, 164. he chooſes his ſucceſſor, 165. his death, 168. his epitaph, *ibid.* his character, *ibid.* &c. diſpute between two of his ſons for the crown, 166
Darius, the eldeſt ſon of Xerxes. His marriage with Artainta, III. 242. he is murdered by his brother Artaxerxes, 270
Darius Nothus takes arms againſt Sogdianus, and puts him to death, IV. 3. he aſcends the throne of Perſia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, *ib.* he cauſes his brother Arſites, who had revolted againſt him, to be ſmothered in aſhes, 4. puts a ſtop to the rebellion of Piſuthnes, *ibid.* and puniſhes the treaſon of Artoxares his principal eunuch, 6. he quells the revolt of Egypt, 7. and that of Media, *ibid.* he gives the government of Aſia Minor to Cyrus, his younger ſon, *ibid.* the inſtructions he gives him on ſending him to his government, 116. Darius recalls Cyrus to court, 131. death of Darius Nothus, 143. his memorable words to Artaxerxes, his ſucceſſor, at his death, 145
Darius, ſon of Artaxerxes Mnemon, conſpires againſt his father's life, V. 196. his conſpiracy is diſcovered and puniſhed, *ibid.*
Darius Codomanus is placed by Bagoas upon the throne of Perſia, V. 229. he loſes the battle of the Granicus againſt Alexander, VI. 28. &c. he orders Memnon the Rhodian to carry the war into Macedonia, 39. Darius reſolves to command in perſon, *ibid.* Caridemus, his free remonſtrance to Darius, 45, &c. march of Darius's army, 47. famous victory of Alexander over Darius near the city of Iſſus, 50, &c.
Darius's haughty letter to Alexander, VI. 68. ſecond letter of Darius to Alexander, 96. Darius receives advice of his wife's death, 118. his prayer to the gods upon being told in what manner ſhe had been treated by Alexander, 119. Darius propoſes new conditions of peace to Alexander, which are not accepted, 123. famous battle of Arbela, wherein Darius is defeated, 127, &c. retreat of Darius after that battle, 134. he quits Ecbatana, 150. his ſpeech to his principal officers to induce them to march againſt the enemy, *ibid.* he is betrayed and laid in chains by Beſſus and Nabarzanes, 152. unhappy death of that prince, 154. his laſt words, *ibid.*
Darius, king of the Medes, is ſubdued by Pompey, X. 152
Datames, Carian, ſucceeds his father Camiſares in the government of Leuco-Syria, IV. 269. he reduces Thyus, governor of Paphlagonia,

Paphlagonia, who had revolted againſt the king of Perſia, 270. he receives the command of the army deſigned againſt Egypt, 271. he is ordered to reduce Aſpis, *ibid.* he revolts againſt Artaxerxes, 272. and gains ſeveral advantages over the troops ſent againſt him, 274, he is aſſaſſinated by order of Artaxerxes, 275

Datis commands the army of the Perſians at the battle of Marathon, III. 152

Debts. Laws of the Egyptians in reſpect to thoſe who contracted debts, I. 199. Solon's law for annihilating debts, III. 52

Decelia, fort of Attica, IV. 56. is fortified by the Lacedæmonians, 69

Deidamia, daughter of Æacides, wife of Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, VII. 150. her death, 152

Dejoces forms the deſign of aſcending the throne of Media, II. 221. he is elected king by unanimous conſent, 223. conduct of Dejoces in governing his kingdom, *ibid.* he builds Ecbatana, 226. means he uſed for acquiring the reſpect of his ſubjects, *ibid.*

Dejotarus, prince of Galatia: Pompey gives him Armenia Minor, X. 157

Delium, place in Bœotia. Battle there between the Athenians and Thebans, IV. 10

Delos, one of the Cyclades. The common treaſures of Greece depoſited in that iſland, III. 261. the Athenians ſend a ſhip every year to Delos, IV. 315. Archelaus ſubjects Delos, and reſtores it to the Athenians, X. 79

Delphos, city of Phocis, famous for Apollo's oracle there, I. 51. the Pythia and Sybil of Delphi, *ibid.* &c. temple of Delphos burnt and rebuilt, 58

Delta, or Lower Egypt, I. 189

Deluge of Deucalion, III. 12. that of Ogyges, *ibid.*

Demades oppoſes the advice of Demoſthenes, V. 277. he is taken priſoner at the battle of Chæronea, 320. he goes ambaſſador to Alexander from the Athenians, VI. 18. he prepares the decree for the death of Demoſthenes, VII. 17. Demades with his ſon Caſſander killed, 42

Demarata, wife of Andranadorus: ſhe perſuades her huſband not to ſubmit to the ſenate of Syracuſe, X. 30. ſhe is killed, 33.

Demaratus, king of Sparta, expelled the throne by Cleomenes, his colleague, III. 151. his fine and noble anſwer to Xerxes, 191. vain and inſolent demand of Demaratus to Artaxerxes, III. 278

Demetrius, (Phalerus), he is obliged to quit Athens, and is condemned to die in his abſence, VII. 47. Caſſander ſettles him there to govern the republic, 54. his wiſdom and ability in the government, 55, &c. three hundred and ſixty ſtatues are erected to him out of gratitude, 103. reflection upon that great number of ſtatues erected in honour of Demetrius Phalerus, 111. he retires to Thebes after the taking of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 104. his ſtatues are thrown down, and he is condemned to die at Athens, 107, 108, he takes refuge with Caſſander, and afterwards in Egypt, 109. he is made intendant of king Ptolemy's library, *ibid.* his death, 190. character of his eloquence and writings, *ibid.* &c.

Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, ſurnamed Poliorcetes: his character, VII. 118. &c. he begins to

to make himſelf known in Aſia Minor, 86. he loſes a battle at Gaza againſt Ptolemy, 89. he gains one ſoon after againſt Cilles, the ſame Ptolemy's lieutenant, he is ſent by his father to Babylon againſt Seleucus, 95. he makes Ptolemy raiſe the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus, 97. he makes himſelf maſter of Athens, 104. and re-inſtates the democratical government, 106, &c. exceſſive gratitude of the Athenians to him, *ibid.* he beſieges Salamin, 112, &c. and takes it, 114. he receives the title of king, 115. his conduct in war and peace, 118.

Demetrius forms the ſiege of Rhodes, VII. 120, &c. he makes Caſſander raiſe the ſiege of Athens, 141. exceſſive honours which he receives in that city, *ibid.* he marries *Deidamia*, 142. he is proclaimed general of the Greeks, and initiated into the great and leſſer myſteries, *ibid.* he is defeated at the battle of Ipſus, 145. Athens ſhuts her gates againſt him, 151. he takes that city, 156. he forms the deſigns of ſubjecting the Lacedæmonians, 157, &c. he loſes almoſt at the ſame time all his dominions in Aſia, *ibid.* Demetrius called in to the aid of Alexander, Caſſander's ſon, Demetrius deſtroys him, and is proclaimed king of Macedonia, 159. he makes great preparations for recovering his father's empire in Aſia, 160. he is obliged to abandon Macedonia, 161. he ſurrenders himſelf to Seleucus, who keeps him priſoner, 168, &c. his death, 170

Demetrius, brother of Antigonus Gonatus, is put to death in Apamea's bed, VII. 262

Demetrius, ſon and ſucceſſor of Antigonus Gonatus, I. 154. his death, VII. 305

Demetrius of Pharus, prince of Illyria, VII. 306. he adviſes Philip, king of Macedonia, to carry the war into Italy, VIII. 69

Demetrius, ſon of Philip, king of Macedonia, is given as an hoſtage to the Romans, VIII. 183. the Romans ſend him back to his father, 244. Philip ſends Demetrius ambaſſador to Rome, 316. Demetrius juſtifies his father to the Romans, 337. he returns into Macedonia, 338. Perſeus's ſecret plot againſt his brother Demetrius, 343. he accuſes him to his father, 344. Demetrius's defence againſt the accuſations of Perſeus, 355. Philip cauſes him to be put to death, 366

Demetrius Soter, after having been long an hoſtage at Rome, demands permiſſion to return into Syria in vain, IX. 168. he flies from Rome, 178. he aſcends the throne of Syria, and receives the ſurname of Soter from the Babylonians, 179. he makes war againſt the Jews, *ibid.* &c. he places Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia, 182. the Romans acknowledge him king of Syria, *ibid.* he abandons himſelf to feaſting and voluptuouſneſs, *ibid.* conſpiracy againſt him, *ibid.* he endeavours to engage the Jews in his intereſts, 184. he is killed in a battle, 186

Demetrius Nicator, ſon of Demetrius Soter, claims the crown of Syria, IX. 188. he marries the daughter of Ptolemy Philometer, *ibid.* he drives Alexander the uſurper out of Syria, and remains in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, 189. Jonathan ſends him aid againſt the people of Antioch, 193. he is driven out of Syria, 194. his manner of living at Laodicea, whither

whither he had retired, 197. he is taken prifoner in an expedition againſt the Parthians, 199. he marries Rodoguna, daughter of Mithridates, king of Parthia, *ibid.* he makes ineffectual attempts to return into his kingdom, 214. he recovers his dominions, 216. he is defeated in a battle by Alexander Zebina, 221. his death, *ibid.*

Demetrius Euchares is eſtabliſhed king at Damaſcus, IX. 241

Democedes, phyſician of Crotona; he cures Darius, III 99. hiſtory of that phyſician, 100. he returns into Greece, 103. he ſettles at Crotona, where he marries the daughter of Milo the Athleta, *ibid.*

Demochares, one of the murtherers of Agis, king of Sparta, VII. 326, &c.

Democles, furnamed the Fair, VII. 141. throws himſelf, to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a veſſel of boiling water prepared for a bath, *ibid.*

Demophantes, general of the horſe to the Elæans, is killed by Philopœmen before the city of Elis, VIII. 81

Demoſthenes is choſen by the Athenians commander of a fleet for the aid of Nicias in Sicily, IV. 69. he makes an attempt againſt Syracuſe without ſucceſs, 77. he is reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion to the Syracuſans, 88. he is put to death, 91

Demoſthenes the Orator, Abridgment of his life to the time when he begins to appear in the tribunal of harangues, V. 230. &c. he appears for the firſt time in public, and encourages the Athenians againſt the preparations for war of Artaxerxes, 212. his oration in favour of the Megalopolitans, 214. he ſpeaks for the Rhodians, 218. he propoſes and occaſions the paſſing of a law for the equipment of fleets, which annuls another very heavy upon the poorer citizens, 239. his diſcourſe in defence of the law that granted exemptions, 243, &c.

Demoſthenes, upon occaſion of Philip's attempt to ſeize Thermopylæ, harangues the Athenians, and animates them againſt that prince, V. 273. he is ſent ambaſſador to Philip, 283. his oration upon the peace, 289. that upon the Cherſoneſus, 292. Demoſthenes preſſes the Athenians to declare for the Lacedæmonians againſt Philip, 296. his Philippics, 301. his oration to fruſtrate the effects of Philip's letter to the Athenians, 305. his advice after the taking of Elatæa by that prince, 313. &c. he is ſent upon an embaſſy to Thebes, 316. he flies in the battle of Cheronæa, 320. he is cited to a trial before the people, who acquit him, and do him great honours, 323. Æſchines accuſes him, 325. generoſity of Demoſthenes to his accuſers, 327. his immoderate joy for Philip's death, 332.

Demoſthenes animates the people againſt Alexander, VI. 14. he prevents the Athenians from delivering up the orators to Alexander, 17. Demoſthenes ſuffers himſelf to be corrupted by Harpalus, 266. is condemned and baniſhed, 268. he is recalled from baniſhment, VII. 11. he quits Athens before the arrival of Antipater, 17. he is condemned to die, *ibid.* he puts an end to his life by poiſon, 21. the Athenians erect a ſtatue of braſs to him, *ib.*

Dercyllidas, furnamed Siſiphus, receives the command of the Lacedæmonian

Lacedæmonian troops in the room of Thymbron, IV. 211. he takes Æolia from Midias, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of it by putting his mother-in-law Dania to death, 213. he ſhuts up the iſthmus of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, *ibid.* truce concluded between Dercyllidas, Pharnabazus, and Tiſſaphernes, 215

Deucalion, king of Theſſaly, III. 16. deluge of Deucalion, *ibid.*

Deucetius, chief of the people called Sicilians. His hiſtory, III. 365

Diæus, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, ſows diſcord amongſt them, IX. 134, &c. he takes upon him the command of the army in the room of Critolaus, 137. his unfortunate end, 139

Diagoras, the Melian, is condemned at Athens for teaching atheiſm, IV. 46

Dialects. The four dialects of the Greeks, III. 18

Dicearchus, ancient admiral of Philip, king of Macedonia, and accomplice with Scopas in the conſpiracy againſt Ptolemy Epiphanes, VIII. 193

Dicearchus, brother of Thoas, general of the Ætolians. He is deputed by them to Antiochus, VIII. 211

Didas, governor of Pæonio, puts Demetrius to death, by order of Philip, VIII. 367

Dido: her hiſtory, I. 299, &c.

Dinocrates, architect, he preſides in building the temple of Diana at Epheſus, IV. 33. ſingular deſign of a temple propoſed by him to Ptolemy Philadelphus, VII. 270

Dinomenes, one of the commanders of the army ſent by the Syracuſans to the aid of Marcellus, X. 38

Dinon, governor of Damaſcus, VIII. 17

Diocles, one of the generals of the Syracuſans; his advice concerning the Athenians taken in Sicily, IV. 89

Diocles, Ætolian, takes Demetrius, VIII. 224

Diodorus, Athenian, oppoſes the putting to death of the inhabitants of Mitylene, III. 400

Diogenes the Cynic refuſes to be initiated in the myſteries of Ceres Eleuſina, I. 41 he receives a viſit from Alexander the Great, VI. 20

Diogenes, Stoic philoſopher, is ſent on an embaſſy to Rome by the Athenians, IX. 121

Diognetus, admiral of Antiochus the Great, VIII. 16

Diomedon, one of the generals condemned to die for having left the bodies unburied of thoſe who were killed in the battle of Arginuſæ. His ſpeech before his death, IV. 129

Dion of Syracuſe; his character and friendſhip with Plato, V. 22 he perſuades Dionyſius the Elder to have ſome converſation with Plato, *ibid.* his marriage with Arete, daughter of Dionyſius, 46, his magnanimous generoſity to Dyonyſius the Younger, 52, &c. he becomes odious to the courtiers, 53. Dion determines Dionyſius to invite Plato to his court, 55. the courtiers ſpare no pains to diſcredit him with Dionyſius, 60. he is baniſhed, 62. he reſides at Athens, 64. he viſits the other cities of Greece, 65. Dionyſius cauſes Dion's eſtates and effects to be ſold, 67. and makes his wife Arete marry Timocritus, 68. Dion determines to attack him with open force, *ibid.* &c. he embarks on board two merchant ſhips for Syracuſe, 70. he appears

appears before the walls of the city, 72. ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, *ibid.* he defeats the troops of Dionyſius, 74 ingratitude of the Syracuſans to Dion, 76. he retires to Leontium, 78. he is recalled by the Syracuſans, 80. he delivers Syracuſe, and pardons his enemies, 84, &c. Dion enters the citadel, which is ſurrendered to him by the ſon of Dionyſius, and is reconciled to his wife Arete, 87. reflection upon Dion's modeſty, *ibid* &c. he ſuffers Heraclides to be put to death, 89. Calippus conceives the deſign of aſſaſſinating Dion, and puts it in execution, *ibid.* &c.

Dion, famous philoſopher, ſent by the Egyptians ambaſſador to Rome againſt Ptolemy Auletes, X. 167

Dionyſius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuſe: his peculiar characteriſtic, V. 3. means which he uſes for poſſeſſing himſelf of the tyranny, 4, &c. he is appointed generaliſſimo with unlimited power, 11. he ſucceeds in having guards aſſigned him, *ibid.* and eſtabliſhes himſelf tyrant, *ibid.* attempts at Syracuſe and in Sicily againſt him, 13, &c. he makes preparations for a war with the Carthaginians, 18, &c. the people of Rhegium refuſe to ally themſelves with the tyrant, 21. he marries two wives at the ſame time, *ibid.* his friendſhip and deference for Dion, 22. he beſieges and takes Motya, 26. he is defeated at ſea, 28. the Syracuſan troops gain an advantage over the Carthaginians in the abſence of Dionyſius, 29. new movements at Syracuſe againſt him, 30. he entirely defeats the Carthaginians, and obliges them to quit Sicily, 32, &c. he puniſhes the inhabitants of Rhegium, 35, &c. violent paſſion of Dionyſius for poetry, 37, 42, &c. reflections upon that taſte of his, 39. he ſends his brother Thearides to Olympia to diſpute the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry, 40. new enterpriſes of Dionyſius againſt the Carthaginians, 46. he carries the prize of poetry at Athens, *ibid.* death of Dionyſius, 46. his character, 47, &c.

Dionyſius the Younger ſucceeds his father, V. 51. his conduct in the beginning of his reign, 53. his good qualities, 55. Dion induces Dionyſius to cauſe Plato to come to his court, 56. in what manner Plato is received there, 58. wonderful change occaſioned by the preſence of that philoſopher, *ibid.* Dionyſius baniſhes Dion, 62. he diſmiſſes Plato, 63. he preſſes him to return to Syracuſe, with which Plato complies, 66. Dionyſius grants Plato permiſſion to return into Greece, 68. embaſſy from Dionyſius to Dion, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Syracuſe, 72. defeat of Dionyſius's troops, 75. method which he uſes for rendering Dion ſuſpected, 76. he retires into Italy, 78. he reaſcends the throne, 95. Icetas obliges him to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel of Syracuſe, 100. Dionyſius treats with Timoleon, who ſends him to Corinth, 103. &c. wife anſwer of Dionyſius to a ſtranger, 105

Diophanes, Achæan, compels Seleucus to raiſe the ſiege of Pergamus, VIII. 249

Diophones, chief of the colony ſent by the Athenians into the Cherſoneſus, makes an irruption into the lands of Philip king of Macedonia, V. 292. he is accuſed

ecuſed by Philip's penſioners, and defended by Demoſthenes, *ibid.*
Diſcoboli. Thoſe who exerciſed themſelves in throwing the diſcus, I. 73
Diſcus. King of athletic combat, I. 73
Diſtribution of lands inſtituted at Sparta by Lycurgus, III. 25. reflections upon that inſtitution, 37
Divinity. Idea of the Divinity implanted in the hearts of all mankind, VII. 205
Dodanim, the fourth of the ſons of Javan, III. 8
Dolphins, machine of war, IV. 74
Domitius Ænobarbus ſent commiſſioner by the Romans into Achaia, where he commits the moſt enormous oppreſſions, IX. 109, &c.
Donations. How regulated by Solon, III. 57
Dorimachus, general of the Ætolians, VIII. 40
Doris, country of ancient Greece: Origin of its inhabitants, III. 16
Doris, wife of Dionyſius the Elder, V. 22.
Dorus, ſecond ſon of Hellenus, gives his name to Doris, III. 16
Dorylaus, one of Mithridates's generals, is defeated by Sylla in the plains of Orchomenus, X. 92
Doryphori. Body of troops, guards of the kings of Perſia, II. 398
Draco, legiſlator of Athens, III. 49. his laws are annulled by Solon, 53
Dramatic. See Poem.
Drypetis, Hæpheſtion's widow. She is deſtroyed perfidiouſly by Roxana, VII. 7
Duilius, conſul, commands the firſt fleet fitted out by the Romans, II. 5. he is the firſt of the Romans who triumphed for a victory at ſea, 7
Dymnus conſpires againſt Alexander, VI. 171. he runs himſelf through with his ſword, 172
Dynaſty of Egypt, I. 229
Dyrrachium. See Epidamnum.

E.

Ecbatana, capital city of Media: Its foundation, II. 225, 228. deſcription of that city, 226
Ecnomus, a city of Sicily, famous for a victory of the Romans over the Carthaginians, II. 7
Education of children amongſt the Perſians, II. 249. at Sparta, III. 28. in Crete, IV. 346. at Athens, 384. fatal effects of a bad education, eſpecially to princes, 443
Egeſimachus, officer in Alexander's army. Raſhneſs that coſts him his life, VI. 224
Egeſta, city of Sicily: Its foundation, IV. 30. its inhabitants implore the aid of Athens againſt the Syracuſans, 31
Eggs, manner in which the Egyptians hatch them without hens, I. 219
Egypt divided into three parts, I. 167. Upper Egypt, or Thebais, 168. Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, 170. Lower Egypt, or Delta, 189. fertility of Egypt, 222. Egyptian monarchy, 229. Egypt ſubjected by the Perſians, II. 356. and afterwards by the Macedonians, VI. 110
Egyptians, manners and cuſtoms of the Egyptians, I. 194. of their kings and government, *ibid.* of their laws, 197. of the prieſts and religion of the Egyptians, 201. abſurd worſhip of different divinities, 203. reaſons for this worſhip, 208. funeral ceremonies, 211. of the ſoldiery and wars

wars of the Egyptians, 214. of the manner in which they cultivated the arts and ſciences, 215. of their huſbandmen, ſhepherds, and artiſans, 217
Eion, city of Thrace; unhappy fate of that city. III. 280
Elatæa, city of Phocis, falls into Philip's hands, V. 313
Eleazer, Simon's brother, high-prieſt of the Jews, exerciſes that office during the minority of Onias, VII. 160
Eleazar, one of the ſons of Mattathias, ſacrifices himſelf in a battle to deliver his people, IX. 170
Eleazar, of the ſect of the Phariſees, forms a falſe accuſation againſt Hyrcanus, IX. 232
Electrion, king of Mycenæ, III. 11
Elephants: Deſcription of thoſe animals, VI. 216. manner of taking them, *ibid*, &c.
Eleuſis, a ſmall city of Attica, where the Athenians celebrated a feaſt in honour of Ceres, I. 38
Elis, province of Peloponneſus, where the Olympic games were celebrated, IV. 216
Eliſa. See Dido.
Eliza, ſon of Javan, ſettles in Peloponneſus, III. 7.
Eloquence: Definition of it, III. 320. of what eloquence united with the love of the public good is capable, V. 318. how neceſſary it is to a prince or a ſtateſman, 298. it was the principal ſtudy of the youth of Athens and Rome, IV. 381. defects contrary to true eloquence, V. 326
Elos, city in the territory of Sparta, ſubjected by the Lacedæmonians, I. 136
Elymais, a city of Perſia, ſuppoſed to be very rich, VIII. 415
Embalming. Manner of embalming bodies amongſt the Egyptians, I. 210
Emilia, ſiſter to Paulus Emilius: Riches left by her to Scipio at her death, I. 157.
Emilius (Paulus) is choſen conſul, IX. 52. he ſets out for Macedonia, 58. exact and ſevere diſcipline which he eſtabliſhes in his army, 65. he gains a famous victory over Perſeus near the city of Pydna, 74, &c. he purſues Perſeus in his flight, 79. that prince puts himſelf into his hands, 82. Paulus Emilius is continued in the command of the army in Macedonia, 85. during the winter-quarters he viſits the moſt famous cities of Greece, 86. upon his return to Amphipolis, he imparts to the Macedonians the regulations made by himſelf and the ſenate in reſpect to Macedonia, 19, &c. he gives a great feaſt there, 91. he ſets out for Rome by the way of Epirus, the cities of which he abandons to be plundered by the troops, 93. he enters Rome in triumph. 94
Emilius, deputy from the Romans, goes to Philip, who had beſieged Abydos, and exhorts him in the name of the ſenate to lay down his arms, VIII. 135. he goes to Egypt to take poſſeſſion of the guardianſhip of the king for the Roman people 136
Emilius (L. Paulus) is elected conſul with Varro, II. 75. he is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 78
Emilius (Q.) gives Pyrrhus advice of the deſign to poiſon him, VII. 230
Empedocles, of Agrigentum, Pythagorean philoſopher, having gained the prize in the Olympic games,

games, regales the people, I. 84
Empires. See Kingdom.
Ena, a very rich temple in Media, VIII. 119
Envy, a diſeaſe of the mind ſcarce ever cured, VII. 77
Epaminondas, Theban, his character, V. 121. his conduct in the conſpiracy againſt the tyrants of Thebes, 124. he goes to Sparta to treat of peace, 138. he gains a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near Leuctra, 141. he ravages Laconia, 146. and advances to the gates of Sparta, 149. at his return he is accuſed before the people and acquitted, 152. he marches againſt Alexander tyrant of Pheræ, and delivers Pelopidas out of his hands, 163. he returns to Thebes, 164. he is placed at the head of the Theban army, 170. his ſecond attempt againſt Sparta, 171. his famous victory at Mantinæa, 175. he is mortally wounded in the battle, *ibid.* his death, 177. and praiſe, *ibid.*
Eperatus, by the credit of Apelles, Philip's miniſter, is appointed general of the Achæans, VIII. 44. univerſal contempt of him, 62
Epheſus, city of Ionia, III. 18
Ephialtes, orator, endeavours to prevent the Athenians from aiding the Lacedæmonians, III. 306
Ephori, magiſtrates of Sparta: their inſtitution, III. 24. their authority, *ibid.*
Epicerdus, of Cyrene: His generoſity to the Athenians, V. 242
Epic poem, its origin, I. 93
Epicratus, one of the generals of Antiochus the Cyzicenian, betrays the intereſts of that prince, and treats ſecretly with Hyrcanus, IX. 230
Epicrates, porter at Athens: Pleaſantry of that Athenian upon the deputies that had been ſent into Perſia, V. 157
Epicydes, Athenian: His little courage and avarice, III. 194. he ſuffers himſelf to be brought over by Themiſtocles, *ibid.*
Epicydes, Carthaginian, ſent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, remains with that prince, X. 27. after the death of Hieronymus, he demands to return to Hannibal, 32. he is elected magiſtrate at Syracuſe, 35. he marches to the aid of Leontium, and is put to flight by Marcellus, 37. he uſurps ſupreme authority at Syracuſe, after having cauſed the magiſtrates to be put to death, 39. he retires to Agrigentum, when he ſees Marcellus maſter of Syracuſe, 51
Epidamnum, or Dyrrachium, a maritime city of Macedonia, III. 328
Epigonis: Signification of that word, VI. 264
Epipoliæ, part of the city of Syracuſe, IV. 51
Epirus: Geographical deſcription of it, III. 2. hiſtory of its kings, I. 161
Epiſthenes of Amphipolis, officer in the army of Cyrus the Younger, IV. 177
Equality. It is the ſoul of popular governments, III. 52. it is the baſis and tie of liberty, 345
Eraſinides, one of the Athenian captains who gained the battle of Arginuſæ, IV. 124. on his return he is condemned to die with his colleagues, 129
Eraſiſtratus, phyſician, famous for his addreſs and penetration in diſcovering the cauſe of

of Antiochus's ſickneſs, VII. 193
Erectheus, king of Athens, III. 13
Eretria, city of Eubœa, ſupports the Ionians in their revolt againſt the Perſians, III. 138. it is deſtroyed by the Perſians, 153
Erginus, Corinthian, ſupplies Aratus with the means of ſeiſing the citadel of Corinth, VII. 299
Eſarhaddon aſcends the throne of Aſſyria, II. 208. he takes Babylon and the country of Iſrael, *ibid.* he carries away Manaſſeh, king of Judah, 209. his death, *ibid.*
Eſculapius, inventor of medicine, II. 416. his knowledge occaſions his being ranked in the number of the gods, *ibid.*
Eſdras obtains permiſſion of Artaxerxes Longimanus to return to Jeruſalem, III. 295. he diſpoſes the Holy Scriptures into their proper order, 298
Eſther cauſes the fatal edict of Ahaſuerus againſt the Jews to be revoked, II. 384
Etolia. See Ætolia
Etolians. See Ætolians.
Evagoras, king of Salamin, IV. 255. brief hiſtory of that prince, 256. his war with Artaxerxes Mnemon, 257. character and praiſe of Evagoras, 261
Evagoras, ſon of Nicocles, is deprived of the throne of Salamin by Protagoras, V. 220. he demands in vain to be re-inſtated, 224. tragical end of that prince, *ibid.*
Evalcus, general of the Lacedæmonian cavalry, is killed in a battle by Pyrrhus, VII. 246
Evander of Crete, general of the auxiliaries to Perſeus, is ſent by that prince to aſſaſſinate Eumenes, IX. 10. he prevents Perſeus from improving the advantage he had gained over the Romans, 31. attachment of Evander to Perſeus, 78. that prince cauſes him to be killed, 81
Eubœa, iſle of Greece, III. 5. ſubjected by the Athenians, 327. Lacedæmonians ſeiſe it, IV. 106. Antiochus takes that iſland, VIII. 234. it is ſoon after taken from him by the conſul Acilius, 240
Euclidus, of Platææ, undertakes to bring the ſacred fire from Delphi, III. 236. he dies at his return, *ibid.*
Euclid of Mægara, founder of the Megarean ſect, his ardour to hear Socrates, IV. 289
Euclidas, Lacedæmonian. His brother Cleomenes king of Sparta makes him reign with him, VII. 35. he is routed at the battle of Selaſia, where he commanded part of the army, 357
Eudamidas, Lacedæmonian, commands in the war againſt Olynthus, V. 117
Evilmerodach, king of Babylon, II. 218
Eulæus, eunuch: bad education that he gives Ptolemy Philometor, whoſe governor he was, VIII. 384
Eumenes, general in Alexander's army. Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5. his marriage with Barſina, 7. he retires to Perdiccas, who puts him into poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, 30. victory of Eumenes over Neoptolemus, and then over Craterus and Neoptolemus together, 33. he kills the latter with his own hand in the battle, 35. he is defeated by Antigonus, and retires into the caſtle of Nora, where he is beſieged, 39. he is betrayed by his troops, 80. delivered up to Antigonus,

Antigonus, *ibid.* and put to death, 81. praiſe of Eumenes, *ibid.*
Eumenes I. nephew of Philetæres, ſucceeds his uncle in the kingdom of Pergamus, VII. 258. he gains a great victory over Antiochus Soter, who came to poſſeſs himſelf of his dominions, *ibid.* he attacks Antiochus Hierax, who was engaged in a war againſt his brother, 283. he abandons himſelf to exceſſes which occaſioned his death, *ibid.*
Eumenes II. ſucceeds his father Attalus in the kingdom of Pergamus, VIII. 170. he refuſes the alliance of Antiochus, 213. he is beſieged in his capital by Seleucus, 249. the Romans deliver him, *ibid.* diſpute between Eumenes and the Rhodians concerning the Greek cities of Aſia, 267, &c. he offers a conſiderable claim to the Achæans, and with what view, 306. war of Eumenes with Pruſias, 327. and Pharnaces, 335. he ſends deputies to Rome to complain of Philip, 336. he goes to Rome himſelf to inform the Romans of the ſecret intrigues of Perſeus, IX. 7. Perſeus endeavours to rid himſelf of Eumenes, firſt by aſſaſſination, 10. and then by poiſon, 11. Eumenes gives ear to the propoſals of Perſeus, 60 he is ſuſpected by the Romans, and cannot obtain permiſſion to enter Rome, 115. the ſenate ſends commiſſioners to inquire into his conduct, 116. death of Eumenes, 117. his praiſe, *ibid.* famous library founded by him at Pergamus, 118
Eumolpidæ, prieſts of Ceres, ſucceſſors of Eumolpus, who firſt exerciſed that office, I. 40
Eunomus, king of Sparta, is killed in a popular commotion, I. 137
Eunuchs. The uſe of them introduced by Cyrus in the Eaſt, III. 27. credit and power which they acquired with their princes, *ibid.*
Euphaes, king of Meſſenia, is attacked by the Lacedæmonians, I. 140. he is wounded in battle near Ithoma, 141. adjudges the prize of valour to Ariſtomenes, 144. he dies of his wounds, *ibid.*
Eupolis, comic poet, I. 113
Eurylochus, chief magiſtrate of the Magnetes, influences them againſt the Romans, VIII. 221.
Euripidas heads a detachment of the Elæans to ravage the territory of Sicyon, VIII. 40. he falls into the hands of Philip, *ibid.*
Euripides, tragic poet, I. 101. character of that poet, 103, &c.
Eurybiades, Lacedæmonian, is appointed generaliſſimo of the Greeks, in preference to Themiſtocles, III. 197. the latter determines to fight in the ſtraits of Salamin, 214. the Lacedæmonians decree him the prize of valour, 220
Eurydice, wife of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, prevails upon Iphicrates, by her intreaties, to re-inſtate her children upon the throne of their father, V. 249
Eurydice, wife of Aridæus: Olympias cauſes her to be put to death, VII. 64
Eurydice, Athenian, wife of Opnellas, VII. 101. after her huſband's death ſhe marries Demetrius, 102
Eurydice, widow of Ptolemy Soter, marries her daughter Ptolemaida to Demetrius, VII. 166
Euryelus, an eminence near Syracuſe, leading to Epipolæ, IV. 51
Eurymedon, general of the Athenians, is condemned to pay a great

a great fine, and why, IV. 28. he goes into Sicily to the aid of Nicias, 69. he is killed in a battle, 81
Eurysthenes, king of Sparta, I. 133
Euristhеus, king of Mycenæ, famous for the twelve labours which he made Hercules undertake, III. 11
Eurytion, or Eurypon, king of Sparta, renounces some part of the absolute power of the kings in favour of the people, I. 137
Euthycrates, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city into Philip's hands, V. 280
Euthydemus, appointed by the Athenians, to command jointly with Nicias, forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, wherein he is worsted, IV. 73
Euthydemus, king of Bactria, makes an honourable peace with Antiochus, who intended to dethrone him, VIII. 122
Exemption, or Immunities, granted by the Athenians to those who had rendered their country great services, V. 241
Exenetes, of Agrigentum, victor in the Olympic games, enters that city in triumph, V. 5
Exiles, name given the citizens expelled by Nabis from Sparta, VIII. 116. supported by the Achæans, they commit great cruelties at Sparta, 288. they accuse the Achæans at Rome, 314. consequence of that accusation, 328, &c.

F.

Fabius Maximus, (Quintus) is appointed dictator, II. 69. his slow conduct in respect to Hannibal, 70, &c. the people give Minucius, general of the horse, equal power with him, 73. Fabius extricates him out of a danger in which his ill conduct had engaged him, 74.
Fabius Maximus, son of Paulus Æmilius, distinguishes himself in the war against Perseus, IX. 68
Fables. Authors to whom the invention of them is ascribed, III. 90. use of fables in respect to the education of children, *ibid.*
Fabricius is deputed by the Romans to Pyrrhus, VII. 222. he commands in the war against that prince, 229
Faith. It is the surest bulwark of a state, IV. 10. a quality essential to a prince, 204. breach of faith often one of the principal causes of the ruin of empires, II. 445, &c.
Famine in Egypt in the time of the emperor Trajan, I. 226
Fannius (C.) Roman officer, distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, II. 151
Fermiers, or Farmers of Taxes, people little sensible to merit, IV. 375, &c. their want of humanity, X. 115
Festivals, celebrated at Athens, I. 33, &c. and at Lacedæmon, III. 237
Fimbria, commander of the Romans in Asia, defeats the troops of Mithridates, X. 93. he kills Flaccus, seises that consul's army, and marches against Mithridates, 96. upon being abandoned by his troops, he kills himself in despair, 98
Flaccus (L. Valerius) is elected consul, and marches against Mithridates, X. 90. he is killed by Fimbria, 96
Flamininus (Quintius) is deputed by the Romans to Prusias, II. 117. he is elected consul, and marches against Philip king of Macedonia, VIII. 151. he gains a first advantage over that prince, 156. different expeditions of Flamininus in Phocis, 158. he is continued

sontinued in the command as pro-conſul, 165. he has an ineffectual interview with Philip, 166. he gains a great victory over that prince near Scotuſa and Cynoſcephale, 176. and concludes a peace with him, 182. honours and applauſes which he receives in the Iſthmian games, 184. he makes war againſt Nabis, 196. beſieges him in Sparta, 202. and grants him peace, 203. he triumphs at Rome, 208
Flaminius (C.) conſul, marches againſt Hannibal, II. 66. he is defeated and killed near the lake of Thraſymene, 68
Flattery. Cauſes of the propenſity of princes to be ſeduced by flattery, II. 242
Fortifications of the ancients, II. 406
Four hundred men inveſted with all authority at Athens, and abuſe it tyrannically, IV. 102. their power is annulled, 106
French. Ideas people had of the ancient Gauls, VIII. 292. &c. what paſſed at the ſiege of Philipſburgh ought to undeceive thoſe who have the ſame idea of the modern French, 293, &c.
Friendſhip. Fundamental law of it, IV. 219
Fulvia, Anthony's wife, very active at Rome for her huſband's intereſts, X. 196
Funerals. Funeral ceremonies in Egypt, I. 210. at Athens, III. 377

G.

Gabinius, Pompey's lieutenant, ſubjects part of Syria, X. 152. he commands there as pro-conſul, 171. upon the earneſt inſtances of Pompey, he reeſtabliſhes Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, 172
Gadates, prince of Aſſyria, ſubmits to Cyrus, II. 278
Gagamela or Camel's houſe, place famous for Alexander's ſecond victory over Darius, III. 126
Gala, Maſiniſſa's father, joins the Carthaginians againſt the Romans, II. 123
Galatia, or Gallo-Græcia, a province of Aſia Minor, inhabited by the Gauls after their irruption into Greece, VII. 206
Galba: Fine ſaying of that emperor, VII. 43
Galley. See Ship.
Games, part of the religion of the ancients, I. 60. ſolemn games of Greece: The Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemæan, the Iſthmian, 62. rewards granted to the victors in thoſe games, 83. ladies admitted to diſpute the prize in the Olympic games, IV. 248
Ganymedes, Ptolemy's eunuch, ſupplants Achillas, and becomes prime miniſter of Egypt in his place, X. 184. his ſtratagems againſt Cæſar during his war in Egypt, *ibid.*
Gaos, admiral to Artaxerxes, revolts againſt that prince, and on what occaſion, III. 145
Gardens. Hanging gardens of Babylon, II. 189
Gauls. They diſpute the paſſage of the Alps with Hannibal, II. 55, &c. irruption of the Gauls into Greece, VII. 202. their attempt againſt the temple of Delphi, *ibid.*
Gaza, in Paleſtine, beſieged and taken by Alexander, VI. 108. deſtruction of Gaza by Alexander Jannæus, IX. 265
Gelanor, king of Argos, III. 11
Gela, city of Sicily, IV. 31
Gellias, citizen of Agrigentum, his noble uſe of riches, V. 5
Gelon poſſeſſes himſelf of ſupreme authority at Syracuſe, III. 343. reaſons that prevent him from aiding the Greeks when

when attacked by Xerxes, 193. he defeats Hamilcar, general of the Carthaginians. I. 313. the Syracuſans proclaim him king, III. 345. his wife conduct during his reign, 346 his death, 349. reſpect which the Syracuſans retained for his memory, *ibid.*

Gelon, ſon of Hiero, eſpouſes the party of the Carthaginians againſt the Romans, X. 23. he dies ſoon after, *ibid.*

Genius Height to which the ancients carried genius, X. 45

Gentius, king of Illyrium, becomes ſuſpected by the Romans, IX 13. he makes an alliance with Perſeus, 59. he declares againſt the Romans, and impriſons their ambaſſadors, 63. the Romans ſend the prætor Anicius againſt him, *ibid.* Gentius is obliged to throw himſelf at his feet, and implore his mercy, *ibid.* Anicius ſends him to Rome with all his family, *ibid.*

Geometry. People to whom the invention of that ſcience is attributed, I. 216

Gergis, ſon of Ariazus, one of the ſix generals of Xerxes's army, III. 189

Gigis, one of the Paryſatis's women, confeſſes the poiſoning of Statira, IV. 210. ſhe is put to death, *ibid.*

Giſgo, ſon of Hamilcar, is puniſhed for his father's ill ſucceſs, and is baniſhed, I. 311

Giſgo, Carthaginian, endeavours to ſuppreſs the revolt of the mercenaries, II. 28. Spendius, their general, puts him to death, 32

Giſgo endeavours to prevent the Carthaginians from accepting the conditions of peace propoſed by Scipio, II. 102

Glabrio, (Man. Acilius) obtains Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded before, X. 138. his diſcourſe on his arrival augments the licence of Lucullus's troops, 139

Glaucias, king of Illyrium, takes Pyrrhus under his protection, and re-eſtabliſhes him in his dominions, VII. 154

Glauco, a young Athenian, deſirous of having a ſhare in the adminiſtration of the public affairs, IV. 291. Socrates, in a converſation, obliges him to own his incapacity for them, 292

Gobryas, Aſſyrian lord, puts himſelf and family under the protection of Cyrus, II. 277. he puts himſelf at the head of a body of troops at the ſiege of Babylon, 317. Gobryas enters into the conſpiracy againſt Smerdis the Magian, 371 his ſenſe of the preſent given Darius by the Scythians, III. 125

Gobryas, Perſian lord, commands in the army of Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa, IV. 172

God. Anſwer of Simonides to a prince who aſked him what God was, III. 351. one ſupreme God acknowledged by Socrates, IV. 295

Gordian, capital city of Phrygia, famous for the chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied which Alexander cut, VI. 38

Gorgidas, Athenian, joins Pelopidas to expel the tyrants of Thebes, V. 130

Gorgis, ſophiſt, is ſent deputy from the Leontines to Athens to demand aid againſt the Syracuſans, IV. 28

Gorge, daughter of Cleomenes: ſmart ſaying of that child, III. 137

Government. Different kinds of government, I. 24. which would be the moſt perfect, IV. 336.

view and end of all government, 335
Graechus (Tiberius) diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the ſiege of Carthage, II. 151. being tribune of the people, he propoſes a law concerning the will of Attalus, and is killed ſoon after, IX. 209
Grandees. Example how little their friendſhip is to be relied on, 183. blindneſs too common to the great, 270. miſtaken ambition ſufficiently common to the great, VII. 70, &c. See Princes, Kings.
Granicus, river of Phrygia, famous for the victory of Alexander over the Perſians, VI. 26
Gratitude: the principal virtue of the Egyptians, I. 200.
Greece, Greeks, geographical deſcription of ancient Greece, III. 2. hiſtory of Greece divided into four ages, 6. primitive origin of the Greeks, 7. different ſtates of which Greece was compoſed, 10. tranſmigrations of the Greeks into Aſia Minor, 16, &c. ſettlement of the Greeks in Sicily, IV. 30. manners and cuſtoms of the Greeks, 334, &c. republican government inſtituted almoſt univerſally in Greece, III. 19. Monſieur Boſſuet's reflexions upon that kind of government, VI. 311. love of liberty the peculiar character of the Greeks, IX. 152. different kind of troops that compoſed the armies of the Greeks, IV. 387. ſhips, and naval forces, 392. people of Greece very warlike in all times, 382. origin and cauſe of courage and military virtue amongſt the Greeks, 384. religion of the Greeks, I. 33. of the augurs, 45. of the oracles, 48. famous games and combats of Greece, 60. difference of taſte of the Greeks and Romans in reſpect to public ſhows, 87. diſputes for the prize of wit, ſhows, and repreſentations of the theatre, 90. illuſtrious men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt by the arts and ſciences amongſt the Greeks, III. 71. dialects of the Greeks, 18. See the articles Athenians and Lacedæmonians, for what relates to the wars of Greece with the Perſians and Macedonians. Greece becomes a Roman province, IX. 141. reflections upon the cauſes of the grandeur, decline, and ruin of Greece, 146, &c.
Grypus. See Antiochus Grypus.
Guluſſa, ſon of Maſiniſſa, divides the kingdom with his two brothers after his father's death, II. 165
Gyges kills Candaules, king of Lydia, whoſe principal officer he was, and aſcends the throne in his ſtead, II. 236. what Plato ſays of his ring, *ibid.*
Gylippus, Lacedæmonian, goes to the aid of Syracuſe, beſieged by the Athenians, IV. 62. his arrival in Sicily changes the face of things, 63. he obliges the Athenians to ſurrender at diſcretion, 88. his ſordid avarice ſullies the glory of his great actions, 141
Gymnaſtick, art of forming the athletæ, I. 66
Gynecæa, or apartments of the ladies amongſt the Greeks, I. 64.

H.

Hæmus, mountain between Thrace and Theſſaly, VIII. 364
Hair of Bercnice, VII. 278
Haliartus, city of Bœotia, ſides with Perſeus, IX. 19. the prætor Lucretius takes and entirely demoliſhes it, 37
Halicarnaſſus, city of Doris, III. 5. beſieged and taken by Alexander, VI. 34

Halyattes, king of Lydia, II. 237. war of that prince with Cyaxares, 230. he continues the ſiege of Miletus begun by his father, 237. he raiſes the ſiege of that city, and wherefore, 238

Hameſtris, wife of Teriteuchmes, IV. 147. cruelty of that princeſs, 148

Hamilcar commands the army ſent by the Carthaginians into Sicily at the requeſt of Xerxes, I. 310. it is defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuſe, 311. his death, *ibid.*

Hamilcar, ſon of Gyſcon, commands the Carthaginian army againſt Agathocles, and gains a great victory over him, I. 328. he falls alive into the hands of the Syracuſans whilſt beſieging their city, 336. he is put to death, *ibid.*

Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcha, general of the Carthaginians, II. 25. boldneſs and ability of that general, *ibid.* he commands the army againſt the mercenaries, 31. and defeats them entirely, 34. he goes to Spain, which he conquers in a ſhort time, 40. he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*

Hamilcar, ſurnamed Rhodianus, a Carthaginian, goes into the camp of Alexander by order of Carthage, I. 339. at his return he is put to death, *ibid.*

Hannibal, ſon of Giſgo, is placed at the head of the troops ſent by the Carthaginians into Sicily to the aid of the people of Egeſta, I. 312. actions of that general in Sicily, 313. he dies there of the plague, 314

Hannibal commands the Carthaginian fleet, and is defeated by the conſul Duilius, II. 5. he beſieges the mercenaries in Tunis, 34. he falls into their hands and is crucified, *ibid.*

Hannibal, ſurnamed the Great, at nine years old goes with his father ſent to command in Spain. II. 40. he is appointed to command there after Aſdrubal's death, 42. after ſeveral conqueſts he beſieges Saguntum, 44. and takes it, 45. he prepares for his march into Italy, 48. he goes to Cadiz, and with what view, *ibid.* he begins his march, *ibid.* his expeditions as far as the Rhone, 49. he paſſes that river, 50. his march afterwards, 51. he paſſes the Alps, 53. he enters Italy, 57. he defeats the Romans near the river Ticinus, 58. then at Trebia, 62. he marches to Tuſcany, 65. he loſes an eye in paſſing the Apennines, 66. he gains a battle near the lake of Thraſymene, 68. his conduct in regard to Fabius, 69. his manner of extricating himſelf from the wrong ſtep he had taken at Caſilinum, 72. he gains a famous victory near Cannæ, 79, &c. he ſends deputies to Carthage with the news of his victory, and to demand re-inforcements, 81. he winters at Capua, 82. and ſuffers the courage of his troops to be enervated by the luxury of that place, 85

Bad ſucceſs of Hannibal, II. 86. he flies to the aid of Capua, beſieged by the Romans, *ibid.* to make a diverſion, he marches ſuddenly back againſt Rome, 87. after various attempts, he abandons that enterpriſe, 88. he is recalled into Africa, 95. he has an interview with Scipio, 98. followed by a battle in which he is defeated, 100. he eſcapes to Carthage, *ibid.* he cauſes a peace to be concluded with the Romans, 101. he undertakes and effects the reformation of the courts of Juſtice and Finances at Carthage,

Carthage, 107. purſued by the Romans, he retires to Antiochus, 111. his diſcourſe to that prince, and the counſels he gives him, 112. he retires firſt to the iſland of Crete, 116. then to Pruſias, 117. he does that prince great ſervices, *ibid.* betrayed by Pruſias, he poiſons himſelf, 118. Hannibal's character and praiſe, 119

Hannibal, young Carthaginian, ſent to Hieronymus by Hannibal, X. 27

Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forms the deſign of making himſelf maſter of the commonwealth, I. 328. he is diſcovered and puniſhed, *ibid.*

Hanno, Carthaginian, is placed at the head of the troops againſt Agathocles, I. 333. he is killed in battle, *ibid.*

Hanno, general of the Carthaginians, is defeated by the Romans near the iſlands Ægates, II. 23. the Carthaginians give him the command of their troops againſt the mercenaries, 30. the command is taken from him, 31. the Carthaginians place him again at the head of their troops, 35. Hanno oppoſes in vain the undertaking of the ſecond Punic war, 42

Harmodius conſpires againſt the tyrants of Athens, III. 66. his death, *ibid.* ſtatues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, 68

Harmonia, wife of Themiſtus, is put to death by order of the people of Syracuſe, X. 34

Harpagus, officer of Aſtyages, is ordered by that prince to make away with Cyrus, II. 353 rage of Aſtyages upon diſcovering that Harpagus had diſobeyed his orders, and the revenge he takes of him, *ibid.*

Harpalus, governor of Babylon for Alexander, quits the ſervice of that prince, and retires to Athens, VI. 265: he corrupts Demoſthenes with his preſents, 267. the Athenians drive Harpalus out of their city, *ibid.*

Harpates, ſon of Tiribaſus, aſſaſſinates Arſames by order of Ochus, V. 197

Hecatæus, one of Alexander's officers, cauſes Attalus to be aſſaſſinated by that prince's order, VI. 14

Hegelochus, Phyſcon's general, defeats the Alexandrians, and takes their general Marſyas priſoner, IX. 220

Hegeſipyla, wife of Miltiades, and mother of Cimon, III. 146

Hegetorides, Thaſian, expoſes his life for the ſafety of his city beſieged by the Athenians, III. 286

Helena, daughter of Tyndarus, and wife of Menelaus, carried away by Paris, ſon of Priam, king of Troy, III. 14

Helenus, ſon of Pyrrhus, accompanies his father to the ſiege of Argos, VII. 248. he enters the city with a body of troops, which occaſions a confuſion, in which his father periſhes, *ibid.*

Helepolis, machine of war invented by Demetrius, VII. 127

Helicon of Cyzicum, mathematician, V. 67

Heliodorus, prime-miniſter to Seleucus Philopator, goes to Jeruſalem to take away the treaſures of the temple, VIII. 372. chaſtiſement which he receives from God on that account, 373. he poiſons Seleucus and uſurps the crown, 375. he is expelled by Eumenes, *ibid.*

Heliopolis, city of the Lower Egypt, famous for its temple dedicated

dicated to the ſun, I. 189. furious actions of Cambyſes there, 193
Hellanodicæ, name of thoſe who perſiſted in the athletic games of Greece, I. 68
Hellenus, ſon of Deucalion, king of Theſſaly, from whom the Greeks derive their name Ἕλληνες, III. 16
Helleſpont, ſtrait between Europe and Aſia, III. 183
Helots. Origin and condition of the Helots, I. 136. cruelties of the Lacedæmonians in reſpect to them, III. 46. revolt of the Helots againſt the Lacedæmonians, 307
Hemerodromi: Runners or couriers among the Greeks, VIII. 139
Hephæſtion, Alexander's favourite: Miſtake of the captive princeſſes in reſpect to him, VI. 63. he receives a wound at the battle of Arbela, 132. Alexander makes him marry Darius's youngeſt daughter, 263. his death, Alexander's eſteem for that favourite, 271. extraordinary honours which that prince cauſes to be paid him after his death, 275, &c.
Heptanomis, or Middle Egypt, deſcription of it, I. 170
Heraclæa, city of Pontus: tyrants who governed it, I. 162. deſtruction of that city by Cotta, X. 120
Heraclæa, in Ætolia, beſieged and taken by the conſul Acilius, VIII. 241
Heraclea, wife of Zoippus, of the family of Hiero, is maſſacred with her children, by order of the people of Syracuſe, X. 34, 35
Heraclidæ, or deſcendents from Hercules. They ſucceed the Atyades in the kingdom of Lydia, II. 234 they ſeiſe Peloponneſus, and are ſoon after driven out of it, III. 11 they re-enter Peloponneſus, and ſeiſe Lacedæmon, 17. they endeavour to oppoſe the augmentation of the Athenians, who defeat them in a battle, 18
Heraclides, miniſter of Seuthes, king of Thrace: His perfidy, IV. 204
Heraclides, exile of Syracuſe, comes to the aid of his country againſt Dionyſius, V. 76. the Syracuſans chooſe him admiral, *ibid.* his envy of Dion, 77. he is obliged to call in Dion to the aid of Syracuſe, 84. and to put himſelf into his hands, 85. Dion reſtores him the command in chief by ſea, 86. Heraclides renews his intrigues againſt Dion, *ibid.* Dion is obliged to ſuffer him to be killed, 89
Heraclides, Philip's miniſter, his character, VIII. 151. Philip ſacrifices him to gain the affection of the Macedonians, *ibid.*
Heraclides, of Byzantium, is deputed by Antiochus to Scipio Africanus, VIII. 256
Heraclides, treaſurer of the province of Babylon, is baniſhed by Demetrius Soter, IX. 179. he is appointed by Ptolemy, Attalus, and Ariarathes, to prepare Alexander Bala for perſonating the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, in order to his reigning inſtead of Demetrius, 183. he carries him to Rome, where he ſucceeds in cauſing him to be acknowledged king of Syria, *ibid.* 184
Herbeſſes, city of Sicily, V. 15
Hercules, ſon of Jupiter and Alcmena, ſubjected to Euryſthenes by the fraud of Juno, III. 11
Hercules, ſon of Alexander and Barſina, VII. 7. is put to death by Polyſperchon, 98
Herippidas, Spartan: His too rigid exactneſs obliges Spithridates to abandon the party of the Lacedæmonians, IV. 233
Hermias, Carian, is declared prime miniſter of Antiochus the Great, VIII. 3. his character, *ibid.*

Ibid. he removes Epigenes, the moſt able of Antiochus's generals, 8. Achunties cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated, II
Hermocrates, Syracuſan, encourages his citizens to defend themſelves againſt the Athenians, IV. 54. he is elected general, *ibid.*
Hermolaus, officer in the train of Alexander, conſpires againſt that prince, VI. 210 he is diſcovered and puniſhed, *ibid.*
Herod, Idumæan, is made governor of Galilee, IX. 279. he eſcapes from Jeruſalem to avoid falling into the hands of the Parthians, *ibid.* he goes to Rome, and is declared king of Judæa by the ſenate, 280. he forms the ſiege of Jeruſalem, 281. he goes to Samaria, and eſpouſes Mariamne, *ibid.* he makes himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem, and aſcends the throne of Judæa, 282
Herodicus, one of the principal perſons of Theſſaly: Unhappy fate of that prince and his family, VIII. 340
Herodotus, Greek hiſtorian: His birth, III. 170. applauſes which he received at the Olympic games on reading his hiſtory there, I. 90
Herodotus, friend of Demetrius, ſon of Philip, is ſeiſed on that prince's account, VIII. 365. he is put to the queſtion, and dies in the torments, 366
Heroes. Times moſt famous for the hiſtory of the heroes, III. 13. deſcription of moſt of the heroes ſo much boaſted of in hiſtory, II. 351
Heſiod, Greek, poet, III. 74
Hezekiah, king of Judah, is cured miraculouſly, II. 206. he ſhows the ambaſſadors of the king of Babylon his riches and his palace, *ibid.* God menaces him by his prophet, *ibid.* accompliſhment of thoſe threats, 211
Hidarnes, Perſian of great quality, Statira's father, IV. 147
Hiempſal, ſon of Micipſa, king of Numidia, II. 165. Jugurtha cauſes him to be murthered, 167
Hierax, of Antioch, becomes prime miniſter to Phyſcon, IX. 203. that prince puts him to death, *ib.*
Hiero I. brother of Gelon, reigns after him in Syracuſe, III. 349. his character, 350. ſuſpicions which he forms againſt his brother, *ibid.* he attracts learned men about him, 351. his goodneſs to the children of Anaxilaus, 354. his death, *ibid.*
Hiero II. His birth, X. 1. he is choſen captain-general of the Syracuſans, 2. and ſoon after elected king, 4. he quits the party of the Carthaginians, and eſpouſes that of the Romans, 6. he aids the firſt againſt the mercenaries, 7. his pacific reign, 8, 9. he favours agriculture particularly, 10. diſtinguiſhed proofs which he gives of his attachment to the Romans in the ſecond Punic war, 12, 23. he employs the ability of Archimedes, who makes abundance of machines of war for him for the defence of a place, 18. galley which Archimedes builds for him, 20. he dies at a great age, much lamented by his people, 23
Hierocles, father of Hiero, cauſes his ſon to be expoſed, and then to be brought back to his houſe, where he educates him with great care, X. 1
Hieroglyphics: Signification of the word, I. 171
Hieronymus, Hiero's grandſon, reigns after him at Syracuſe, and by his vices cauſes him to be much regretted, X. 23, 25. he makes an alliance with Hannibal

nibal, 27. he is killed in a conſpiracy, 28
Hierophantes, name given the perſon who preſided at the ceremony of the feaſt of Eleuſis, I. 40.
Himera, city of Sicily; its foundation, IV. 31. its deſtruction, I. 310
Himilcon, Carthaginian general, comes to Sicily, to drive the Romans out of it, X. 46. he periſhes there, 50
Hippacra, city of Africa, refuſed at firſt to join the mercenaries, II. 29. and joins them afterwards, 32
Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus, governs at Athens after his father's death, III. 66. his taſte for literature, *ibid.* he is killed in the conſpiracy of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, *ibid.*
Hipparinus, brother of Dionyſius, drives Calippus out of Syracuſe, and reigns there two years, V. 92
Hippias, ſon of Piſiſtratus, retains the ſovereignty after the death of his father, III. 65. he finds means to fruſtrate the conſpiracy formed by Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, 66. he is compelled to quit Attica, and goes to ſettle in Phrygia, 68. he takes refuge in Aſia with Artapherhes, 71. he engages the Perſians in the war againſt the Greeks, and ſerves them as a guide, 153. he is killed at Marathon, fighting againſt his country, 157
Hippocrates, famous phyſician: His great ability, II. 417. his diſintereſtedneſs, III. 379.
Hippocrates, native of Carthage, is ſent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, and reſides at his court, X. 27. he becomes one of the principal magiſtrates of Syracuſe, 35. he marches to the aid of Leontium, 37. and is reduced to fly, *ibid.* he, with Epicydes, poſſeſs themſelves of all authority at Syracuſe, 33. he makes war in the field againſt Marcellus, 46, 49. the plague deſtroys him and his troops, 50
Hipponax, ſatyric poet, known by his verſes againſt Pupaias and Athenis, III. 77
Holophernes, general for the king of Aſſyria, marches againſt the Iſraelites, and beſieges Bethulia, II. 229. Judith cuts off his head, *ibid.*
Holophernes, ſuppoſed brother of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dethrones him, and reigns in his ſtead, IX. 325. he is driven out by Attalus, and retires to Antioch, 326. he enters into a conſpiracy againſt Demetrius, his benefactor, *ibid.* that prince impriſons him, *ibid.*
Homer, famous poet, III. 71. &c. to what perfection he carries the ſpecies of poetry to which he applied himſelf 73
Horſe: the Horſe, or the Knights, a comedy of Ariſtophanes, I. 109
Hoſea, king of Samaria, revolts againſt the king of Aſſyria, II. 204. he is laden with chains by Salmanaſar, and put in priſon for the reſt of his life, 205.
Hyacinthus, feaſts celebrated in honour of him at Lacedæmon, III. 226
Hydarnes commands the Perſians called the Immortals, in the army of Xerxes, III. 189
Hydraotes, a river of India, VI. 234
Hymereus, brother of Demetrius Phalereus, is delivered up to Antipater, who puts him to death, VII. 20
Hyperbolus, Athenian: his character, IV. 25. he endeavours to irritate the people againſt Nicias and Alcibiades, *ibid.* he

he is baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, 26
Hypſicratia, one of the wives of Mithridates: Her maſculine courage, X. 146
Hyrcanians, people in the neighbourhood of Babylonia, ſubjected by Cyrus, II. 273
Hyrcanus (John) ſon of Simon, is declared high-prieſt, and prince of the Jews after his father's death, IX. 212. he is beſieged by Antiochus Sidetes, in Jeruſalem, *ibid.* and ſurrenders by capitulation, 213. he renders himſelf abſolute and independent, 217. he renews the treaty with the Romans, 221. he augments his power in Judæa, 229. he takes Samaria, and demoliſhes it, 231. he becomes an enemy to the Phariſees, 234. he dies, *ibid.*
Hyrcanus, ſon of Alexander Jannæus, is made high-prieſt of the Jews, IX. 268. after the death of Alexander he takes poſſeſſion of the throne, 271. he is obliged to ſubmit to Ariſtobulus his younger brother, *ibid.* he has recourſe to Pompey, who replaces him upon the throne, 273, &c. he is again dethroned by Pacorus, ſon of Orodes, and delivered up to Antigonus, who cauſes his ears to be cut off, 279. the Parthians carry him into the Eaſt, 280. he returns to Jeruſalem, where Herod puts him to death, *ibid.*
Hyſtaſpes, father of Darius, governor of Perſia, II. 369
Hyſtaſpes, ſecond ſon of Xerxes, is made governor of Bactriana, III. 245. his remoteneſs from court makes way for his brother Artaxerxes to aſcend the throne, 269. Artaxerxes undertakes to reduce him, 272. and entirely ruins his party, 273
Hyſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, prevails upon the generals of Ionia not to abandon Darius, then employed in a war with the Scythians, III. 127. Darius grants him a territory in Thrace, where he builds a city, 129. that prince recalls him to court, *ibid.* Hyſtiæus ſecretly ſupports the revolt of the Ionians, 134. he forms a conſpiracy againſt the government, 140. he is diſcovered, *ibid.* he is taken by the Perſians, delivered up to Artaphernes, and put to death, 142. character of Hyſtiæus, *ibid.*

I.

Iacchus. See Bacchus.
Jaddus, high-prieſt of the Jews, implores the protection of God againſt Alexander, VI. 99. honours paid him by that prince, 100. his death, VII. 38
Jalyſus, founder of Rhodes, repreſented in a painting by Protogenes, VII. 136
Iambic verſe proper for tragedy, I. 107.
Jaſon, tyrant of Pheræ, is declared generaliſſimo of the Theſſalians, V. 158. death puts a ſtop to his deſigns, *ibid.*
Jaſon ſupplants his brother Onias, high-prieſt of the Jews, VIII. 378. he is ſupplanted himſelf by his brother Menelaus, 381. he takes Jeruſalem and obliges Menelaus to retire into the citadel, 385
Javan, or Ion, ſon of Japhet, father of all the people known under the name of Greeks, III. 7
Javelins, exerciſe of the javelin. I. 74
Iberians, people of Aſia, ſubjected by Pompey, X. 151

Ibis, animal adored by the Egyptians, I. 203, 207
Icetas of Syracuse, tyrant of the Leontines, causes the wife and mother-in-law of Dion to be put to death, V. 91. the Syracusans call in his aid against Dionysius, and elect him their general, 97. he conceives the design of making himself master of Syracuse, *ibid.* and seises great part of the city, 99, 100. Timoleon, marches against him, and obliges him to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines, 109. Icetas revolts against Timoleon, who punishes him and his son with death, 110
Ichneumon, animal adored in Egypt, I. 207
Idolatry: Which the most ancient and most general, II. 424. See Religion.
Idumæans, people of Palestine: Hyrcanus obliges them to embrace Judaism, IX. 263
Jealousy or Envy, an incurable disease of the mind, VII. 338. it sullies the glory of the greatest actions, X. 144
Jechonias, or Jehoiachim, king of Judah, is led captive to Babylon, II. 214. he is set at liberty after an imprisonment there of thirty-seven years, 218
Jehoaz, king of Judæa, led captive into Egypt, where he dies, I. 257
Jehoiachim is placed by Nechao upon the throne of Judæa in the room of his brother Jehoaz, I. 257. he is conquered by Nebuchodonosor, II. 211. he revolts against that prince, 214. his death, *ibid.*
Jerusalem, city of Palestine, I. 29. taking of that city by Nechao, I. 258. it is besieged by Senacherib, and delivered miraculously, II. 207. it is besieged and taken by Nebuchodonosor, 211. its fortifications demolished by that prince, *ibid* and rebuilt by order of Artaxerxes, III. 297. Alexander's entrance into Jerusalem, VI. 101. it is besieged and taken by Ptolemy, VII. 41. it is taken and plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, VIII. 385. its temple is prophaned, *ibid.* it is taken by Antiochus Sidetes, who causes its fortifications to be demolished, IX. 212. Pompey takes Jerusalem by storm, 276. Cæsar permits its walls to be rebuilt, which Pompey had caused to be demolished, 279. Herod takes Jerusalem, 281
Jesus Christ, his kingdom foretold by Daniel, II. 339. contrast between the kingdoms of the world and the kingdom of Christ, 341
Jews, massacre of the Jews by order of Senacherib, II. 208. aversion of the Jews for the Samaritans, 209. captivity of the Jews at Babylon, and its duration, 211, &c. Cyrus's edict for their return to Jerusalem, 335. the rebuilding of their city opposed by the Samaritans, 336. Darius confirms Cyrus's edict in their favour, III. 105. his edict against the Jews revoked at the solicitation of Esther, II. 384. the Jews are confirmed in their privileges by Xerxes, III. 170. and afterwards by Artaxerxes, 295. Ochus carries a great number of Jews captive into Egypt, V. 223. the Jews refuse to submit to Alexander, VI. 99. they obtain great privileges from that prince, 107. they refuse to work at the building of the temple of Belus, 282

The Jews settle at Alexandria in great numbers, VII. 94. all those who were slaves in Egypt are set at liberty, 208. the Jews submit to Antiochus the Great, VIII. 155

VIII. 155. cruelties which they ſuffer from Antiochus Epiphanes, 385, &c. they gain great victories under Judas Maccabæus, firſt over the generals of that prince, then over thoſe of Antiochus Eupator, and over himſelf in perſon, 407, 412, 416. IX. 169. they make peace with Antiochus, 171. they gain new victories over the generals of Demetrius Soter, 180. they are declared friends and allies of the Romans, *ibid.* they build a temple in Egypt, 186, &c. they revenge themſelves on the inhabitants of Antioch, for the evils they had ſuffered from them, 193. they renew the treaties with the Romans, 197. they are ſubjected by Antiochus Sidetes, 212. hiſtory of the Jews under Ariſtobulus, 261. Alexander Jannæus, 264. Alexandra, 268. Ariſtobulus II. 272. Hyreanus, 277. Antigonus, 281. the ſovereignty over the Jews transferred to a ſtranger, 282

Imilcon, ſon of Hanno, is ſent lieutenant to Hannibal on his going to command in Sicily, I. 313. he takes Agrigentum, 315. he puts an end to the war by a treaty with Dionyſius, and returns to Carthage, 316. he returns to Sicily at the head of an army, 318. the plague ſpreads in his army, 319. he is defeated by Dionyſius, 320. he leaves his troops to the mercy of the enemy, and retires to Carthage, where he kills himſelf, 321

Immortality of the Soul. See Soul.

Immortals, guards of the Perſian kings ſo called, II. 398

Immunities. See Exemptions.

Impoſts. See Tributes or Taxes.

Inachus, king of Argos, III. 11.

Inarus, prince of the Libyans, is choſen king by the Egyptians, and ſupports their revolt againſt the Perſians, III. 290. he treats with Megabyſus, general of the Perſians, and ſurrenders himſelf 292. he is delivered to the mother of Artaxerxes, and put to death, 293

Inceſt, common amongſt the Perſians. II. 362

Indathyrſus, king of the Scythians, attacked by Darius, III. 125. anſwer of that prince to Darius, who ſent to demand fire and water from him, *ibid.*

India, region of Aſia, divided in two parts, VI. 213. manners of its inhabitants, 215. rarities of that country, 216, &c. hiſtory of the commerce with that country from Solomon's time to the preſent, I. 191. very ſingular diſpute between two Indian women after the death of their common huſband, VII. 74. expeditions of Semiramis into India, II. 194. conqueſt of India by Darius, III. 131. then by Alexander, VI. 217.

Informers. How puniſhed in Perſia, II. 383. definition of them by Plutarch, V. 73. See Calumniators, or Falſe-accuſers.

Ingratitude puniſhed moſt ſeverely amongſt the Perſians II. 250

Intaphernes, Perſian lord: His inſolence and puniſhment, III. 97

Intereſt of money amongſt the Romans, X. 117

Iolas, ſecond ſon of Antipater, and cup-bearer to Alexander, is ſuſpected of having poiſoned that prince, VI. 285

Ion, ſon of Xuthus, who gave his name to Ionia, III. 17

Ion, favourite of Perſeus, delivers up that prince's children to Octavius, IX. 82

Jonathan, Jew and Sadducee, brings over Hyrcanus to his ſect

from that of the Phariſee, IX. 232, 233
Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabæus, ſucceeds him in the government of Judæa, IX. 181. he accepts of the high-prieſthood from Alexander Bala, and aids that prince againſt Demetrius Soter, 184. he undertakes to drive the Greeks out of the citadel which they had in Jeruſalem, 192, &c. Demetrius Nicator orders him to attend him upon that affair, *ibid.* Jonathan aids that prince againſt the people of Antioch, 193. diſguſted by the ingratitude of Demetrius, he declares for Antiochus Theos, 195. he ſuffers himſelf to be deceived by Tryphon, who puts him to death, *ibid.*
Ionia, province of Aſia Minor, III. 5. from whom it takes its name, 17
Ionians. Revolt of the Ionians againſt Darius, III. 132. they burn the city of Sardis, 138. their party is entirely ruined, 142. they throw of the Perſian yoke after the battle of Salamin, and unite with the Greeks from thenceforth, 242
Joſeph, ſon of Jacob, I. 234
Joſeph, Onias's nephew is ſent into Egypt to make his uncle's excuſe to Ptolemy, VII. 287. his credit with Ptolemy, 288 that prince gives him the farm of the revenues of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine without ſecurity, *ibid.*
Joſiah, king of Judah, marches againſt Nechao, is defeated, and dies of a wound received in battle, 256
Iphicrates, Athenian, is ſent to aid Corcyra, V. 135. he is placed at the head of the Grecian troops in the expedition of Artaxerxes againſt Egypt, 186. he retires to Athens where Pharnabaſus cauſes him to be accuſed of making the expedition miſcarry, 189. the Athenians employ him in the war with the allies, 204. he is accuſed by Chares, and cited to take his trial, 209. means which he employs for his defence, *ibid.* &c. he re-eſtabliſhes Perdiccas upon the throne of Macedonia, 249. praiſe of Iphicrates, 205. military diſcipline which he eſtabliſhes amongſt the troops, 206
Ipſus, city of Phrygia, famous for the victory of Ptolemy, Caſſander, Seleucus, and Lyſimachus, over Antigonus and Demetrius, VII. 145
Irony attributed to Socrates, IV. 298
Iſadas, young Spartan; his great courage, V. 171
Iſagoras, Athenian, forms a faction in Athens after the expulſion of the tyrants, III. 70
Iſcholas, Spartan, guards an important paſs during the irruption of the Thebans into Laconia, and diſtinguiſhes himſelf in a peculiar manner, V. 147
Iſle, part of the city of Syracuſe: deſcription of it, IV. 50
Iſmenias, Theban, is made priſoner with Pelopidas, by Alexander of Pheræ, V. 161. he is delivered by Epaminondas, 164
Iſmenius, Polemarch of Thebes, is ſeiſed by Leontides, and carried priſoner to the citadel, V. 118. he is condemned and executed, 120
Iſocrates, Greek orator: Services which he endeavoured to render the Athenians by his writings, V. 210. his death, 322
Iſocrates, Greek grammarian, is ſent priſoner to Rome for having endeavoured to juſtify the aſſaſſination of Octavius, IX. 182

Issus, city of Cilicia, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, VI. 51
Isthmian, solemn games of Greece, I. 62
Italians massacred in Asia Minor by order of Mithridates, X. 79
Ithobal, king of Tyre, when besieged by Nebucodonosor, II. 215
Ithoma, a city of Messenia, famous for the battle fought there between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, I. 141. the inhabitants of that city subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 145
Ituræa, part of Cœlosyria, IX. 263. the Ituræans are obliged by Aristobulus to embrace Judaism, *ibid.*
Juba I. king of Mauritania, is conquered by Cæsar, and kills himself, II. 174
Juba II. son of the former, is led in Cæsar's triumph whilst an infant, II. 174. Augustus restores him the dominions of his father, 175. works of learning ascribed to this prince, *ibid.*
Judas, called Maccabæus, third son of Mattathias, is chosen general by his father against Antiochus Epiphanes, VIII. 405, 6. he gains several great victories over that prince, 409, 412, &c. he retakes the temple, and dedicates it anew to the service of God, 414. he gains new advantages over the generals of Antiochus Eupator, and over that prince in person, IX. 160, &c. repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus over the generals of Demetrius Soter, 170, 180. he dies in battle fighting gloriously, 181
Judæa, region of Syria called also Palestine, I. 29
Judith, Jewess; Her courage and boldness, II. 229
Jugurtha, Masinissa's grandson, is adopted by Micipsa, and associated with the other children of that prince, II. 166. he seises the kingdom of Numidia, and puts one of the two princes, his brothers by adoption, to death, 167. he attacks the second with open force, 168. besieges him in Cirtha, *ibid.* the Romans declare war against him, 169. Jugurtha frustrates their efforts several times by bribes, *ibid.* the Romans send Metellus first, and then Marius, against him, who both gain many advantages over him, 171. &c. Jugurtha has recourse to Bocchus his father-in-law, who gives him up to the Romans, 172. he is led in triumph, 174. and afterwards thrown into a deep dungeon where he perishes miserably, *ibid.*
Julius is sent deputy by the Romans, into Achaia, to appease the troubles there, IX. 134
Junius, consul, is defeated at sea, by the Carthaginians, II. 21
Justice, the supreme of virtues, V. 119. and the principal support of regal authority, IV. 221
Juventius Thalna (P.) Roman prætor, marches against Andriscus, IX. 133. he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*

K.

Kingdoms: Origin and progress of kingdoms from their first institution, I. 22
Kings. Princes. Qualities essential in a prince; sincerity, truth, and faith to engagements, III. 350. to know how to own faults when they happen to commit them, 175. not to harbour envy and jealousy, nor open his heart to flattery, 172. in what a prince ought to endea-

endeavour to diſtinguiſh himſelf from his ſubjects, II. 347. noble uſe which he ought to make of his riches, VII. 223, &c. a prince is the ſword and ſhield of his dominions, II. 395. the knowledge of the heart of man is of great importance to a prince, VI. 24. temperance is a very eſtimable virtue in a king, 184. vices odious in a prince, 204

L.

Labdulon: Fort ſituated in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe, IV. 51

Laborosoarchod aſcends the throne of Aſſyria, and is killed ſoon after, II. 219. bad inclinations and cruelty of that prince, *ibid.* and 278

Labynit. See Baltazar, or Belſhazzar.

Labyrinth of Egypt: Deſcription of it, I. 176

Lacedæmon, or Sparta, city of Peloponneſus, capital of Laconia. Lacedæmonians or Spartans, III. 14

Kings of Lacedæmonia, III. 14. the Heraclidæ ſeiſe Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Euryſtenes and Procles, reign jointly, 15. the crown remains in thoſe two families, *ibid.* the Lacedæmonians take Elos, and reduce the inhabitants of that city to the condition of ſlaves under the name of Helots, I. 136. Lycurgus, legiſlator of Sparta, 137. war between the Lacedæmonians and Argives, 138. firſt war between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians, 139. defeat of the Lacedæmonians near Ithoma, 141. they take and deſtroy Ithoma, and grant peace to the Meſſenians, 145. ſecond war of the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians, *ibid.* the Lacedæmonians are defeated, 147. they demand a general of the Athenians, who give them Tyrtæus, by profeſſion a poet, *ibid.* by his verſes he inſpires them with courage, and occaſions their gaining a great victory, 148. the Lacedæmonians ſubject the Meſſenians, and reduce them to the condition of Helots 149

The Lacedæmonians deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides, III. 68. they undertake to re-inſtate Hippias, ſon of Piſiſtratus, but inefſectually, 70. Darius ſends to Sparta, to demand its ſubmiſſion, 151. the Spartans put his heralds to death, *ibid.* a ridiculous ſuperſtition prevents the Lacedæmonians from having a ſhare in the battle of Marathon, 159. the honour of commanding the Greeks is decreed to them, 197. three hundred Spartans diſpute the paſs of Thermopylæ with Xerxes, 200. battle of Salamin, in which the Lacedæmonians have a great ſhare, 212, &c. honours which they render Themiſtocles after the battle. 220. the Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with the Athenians, cut the army of the Perſians in pieces at the battle of Platæa, 232. they defeat the Perſian fleet at the ſame time near Mycale, 239. they are for preventing the Athenians from rebuilding the walls of their city, 245. the haughtineſs of Pauſanias occaſions their loſing the command, 252. they ſend deputies to Athens, to accuſe Themiſtocles as an accomplice in Pauſanias's conſpiracy, 257

Earthquake at Sparta, III. 307. ſedition of the Helots, *ibid.* ſeeds of diviſion between Sparta and Athens, 308. peace is

is re-eſtabliſhed between the two ſtates, 311. jealouſy and differences between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, 325. treaty of peace for thirty years, 327. new cauſe of complaint and diſſenſion, *ibid.* open rupture between Sparta and Athens, 332. Peloponneſian, war, 369, &c. allies of the Lacedæmonians in that war, 370. they ravage Attica, 375. Lacedæmon has recourſe to the Perſians, 386. its deputies are ſeiſed by the Athenians, carried to Athens, and put to death, *ibid.* Platæa beſieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 391. they abandon Attica to retake Pylos from the Athenians, 407. they are defeated at ſea, 408. Lacedæmonians ſhut up in the iſland of Sphacteria, *ibid.* Expeditions of the Lacedæmonians into Thrace, IV. 8. Amphipolis, 9. truce of a year between Sparta and Athens, 11. victory of the Lacedæmonians over the Athenians near Amphipolis, 14. treaty of peace between the two ſtates for fifty years, 17

The war renewed between Sparta and Athens, IV. 25. the Lacedæmonians give Alcibiades refuge, 48. by his advice they ſend Gylippus to the aid of Syracuſe, and fortify Decelia in Attica, 55. the Lacedæmonians conclude a treaty with Perſia, 102. their fleet is beaten by the Athenians near Cyzicum, 108. they appoint Lyſander admiral, 115. they beat the Athenian fleet near Epheſus, 118. Callicratidas ſucceeds Lyſander, 120. defeat of the Lacedæmonians near the Arginuſæ, 123, &c. they gain a famous victory over the Athenians near Ægoſpotamos, 136. they take Athens, 140. and change the form of its government, 140. decree of Sparta concerning the uſe of the money which Lyſander cauſes to be carried thither, 141. infamous means which they uſe for ridding themſelves of Alcibiades, 150. inhumanity of the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, who fled to avoid the violence of the thirty tyrants, 156, &c.

The Lacedæmonians furniſh Cyrus the younger with troops againſt his brother Artaxerxes, IV. 167. they chaſtiſe the inſolence of the inhabitants of Elis, 216. they undertake, with Ageſilaus at the head of them, to re-inſtate the ancient liberty of the Greeks of Aſia, 221. expeditions of the Lacedæmonians in Aſia, 228. Sparta appoints Ageſilaus generaliſſimo by ſea and land, 232. league againſt the Lacedæmonians, 236. they gain a great victory near Nemæa, 241. their fleet is defeated by Conon near Cnidos, 243. battle gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronea, 245. they conclude a ſhameful peace for the Greeks with the Perſians, 251. they declare war with the Olynthians, V. 116. they ſeiſe the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence, 118. they receive the Olynthians into the number of their allies, 120

Proſperity of Sparta, V. 121. the Lacedæmonians are reduced to quit the citadel of Thebes, 130. they form an ineffectual enterpriſe againſt the Piræeus. 132. the are defeated near Tegyra, 136. they declare war againſt the Thebans, 138. they are defeated and put to flight at Leuctra, 141, &c. the Thebans ravage their country, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 147. the

147. the Lacedæmonians implore aid of the Athenians, 153. Sparta beſieged by Epaminondas: battle of Mantinæa, in which the Lacedæmonians are defeated, 170. the Lacedæmonians ſend aid to Tachos, who had revolted againſt the Perſians, 190. enterpriſe of the Lacedæmonians againſt Megalopolis, 213. they revolt againſt the Macedonians, VI. 161. they are defeated by Antipater, 162. Alexander pardons them, 163

Sparta beſieged by Pyrrhus, VII. 241. courage of the Spartan women during that ſiege, *ibid.* hiſtory of the Lacedæmonians in the reign of Agis, 311. and in that of Cleomenes, 331. Sparta falls into the hands of Antigonus Doſon, 361. ſedition in Sparta appeaſed by Philip, VIII. 31. Sparta joins the Ætolians againſt that prince, 39. ſeveral actions between the Lacedæmonians and Philip, 55. Sparta joins with the Ætolians in the treaty with the Romans, 79. Machanidas becomes tyrant of Sparta, *ibid.* the Lacedæmonians defeated by Philopœmen near Mantinæa, 109. Nabis ſucceeds Machanidas, 116. his cruel treatment of the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* Quintius Flamininus beſieges Sparta, 202. enterpriſe of the Ætolians againſt Sparta, 224. that city enters into the Achæan league, 225. the Spartans cruelly treated by their exiles, 286. war between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans, IX. 133. the Romans ſeparate Sparta from the Achæan league, *ibid.*

Political government of Sparta, IV. 335. Abridged idea of the Spartan government, 336. love of poverty, 341. laws eſtabliſhed by Minos in Crete, the model of thoſe of Sparta, 345. gold and ſilver money baniſhed Sparta, III. 24. public meals, 26. education of children, 28. barbarous cruelty in reſpect to them, 30. their moſt uſeful occupation, 31. their mothers' inhumanity, 45. their exceſſive leiſure, *ibid.* their cruelty towards the Helots, 46. Modeſty and Decency entirely neglected, *ibid.*

Lachares, Theban, commands a detachment of the army of Ochus in that prince's expedition againſt Egypt, V. 223. he forms the ſiege of Peluſium, and takes it, 224

Laconia, province of Peloponneſus, III. 3

Lada, a ſmall iſland over-againſt Miletus, III. 141

Lais, famous courtezan, IV. 48

Laius, king of Thebes, his misfortunes, III. 14

Lake of Mœris, I. 177

Lamachus is appointed general with Nicias and Alcibiades in the expedition of the Athenians againſt Sicily, IV. 32. his poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, 47. he is killed at the ſiege of Syracuſe, 60

Lamia, courteſan to Demetrius: Her enormous expenſes, VII. 143. pleaſantry of a comic poet in reſpect to her, *ibid.*

Lamia, city of Theſſaly, famous for the victory of the Athenians over Antipater, VII. 13

Lands: Diſtribution of them inſtituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, III. 24. reflection upon that partition, 37

Laodice, wife of Antiochus Theos, is repudiated by that prince, VII. 264. Antiochus takes her again, 274. ſhe cauſes him to be poiſoned, *ibid.* and Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king in

in his ſtead, 275. ſhe cauſes Berenice and her ſon to be put to death, *ibid.* Ptolemy puts her to death, 277
Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, marries Antiochus the Great, VIII. 5
Laodice, ſiſter of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perſeus king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, favourite of Alexander Bala, IX. 187
Laodice, widow of Ariarathes VI. acts as a regent during the minority of ſix princes her children, IX. 211. ſhe poiſons five of them, and prepares to do the ſame by the ſixth, *ibid.* ſhe is put to death by the people, *ibid.*
Laodice, ſiſter of Mithridates Eupator, marries firſt Ariarathes VII. king of Cappadocia, and afterwards Nicomedes king of Bithynia, IX. 328. part which he makes her act at Rome before the ſenate, *ibid.*
Laomedon, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5. he is diſpoſſeſſed of them by Nicanor, who takes him priſoner, 41
Laranda, city of Piſidia, revolts againſt Perdiccas, VII. 30. tragical end of that city, *ibid.*
Lariſſa, city of Theſſaly, III. 4
Laſthenes, chief magiſtrate of Olynthus, puts that city into the hands of Philip, V. 280
Laſthenes, of Crete, ſupplies Demetrius Nicator with troops for aſcending the throne of Syria, IX. 188. his bad conduct makes that prince commit many faults, 191
Lathyrus. See Ptolemy Lathyrus.
Laws. Origin and inſtitution of laws, I. 195. laws of the Egyptians, 197. laws of Crete, IV. 345. laws of Sparta, III. 21. laws of Athens, 51
Leaping: Exerciſe amongſt the Greeks, I. 74
Legion Roman; ſoldiers of which it was compoſed, II. 75
Legiſlators, famous ones of antiquity; Draco, III. 49. Solon, *ibid.* Lycurgus, 22. Charondas, III. 363. Zaleucus, 365
Lelex, firſt king of Lacedæmonia, III. 14
Lentiſcus, ſon of Ptolemy, is taken priſoner by Demetrius, and ſent back to his father by that prince, VII. 114
Lentulus is ſent to Thebes by the Romans, to have an eye over Bœotia, during the war with Perſeus, IX. 22
Lentulus, conſul, is ordered to reinſtate Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne, X. 167. is prevented from executing that commiſſion by a pretended oracle of the Sybils, 168
Leon, Corinthian, defends the citadel of Syracuſe again Icetas and the Carthaginians, V. 105
Leon, Athenian, is ſent deputy with Timagoras to the court of Perſia, and accuſes his colleague at his return, V. 157
Leonatus, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5. he marches to the aid of Antipater beſieged in Lamia, 14. he is killed in battle, *ibid.*
Leonidas, governor of Alexander, VI. 4
Leonidas I. king of Sparta, defends the paſs of Thermopylæ with unparalleled bravery againſt the innumerable army of Xerxes, III. 199. he is killed there, 201. the Lacedæmonians erect him a magnificent monument, 202

Leonidas II. reigns at Sparta jointly with Agis, VII. 311. he oppoſes the deſigns of that prince, 318. he is diveſted of the ſovereignty, 320. he eſcapes to Tægea, *ibid.* he is recalled, and replaced upon the throne, 324. he lays ſnares for Agis, 326. and puts him to death, 328. he obliges the wife of that prince to marry his ſon Cleomenes, 330. death of Leonidas, 332. his character, 312

Leontides, Polemarch of Thebes, puts the citadel of that place into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, V. 117. he impriſons Iſmenius, who was his opponent, 118. he ſends perſons to Athens to aſſaſſinate the principal exiles, 123. Pelopidas, at the head of the conſpirators, kills him, 129

Leontium, city of Sicily, IV. 39

Leontius, Philip's general, inſults Aratus groſsly at a feaſt, VIII. 54. he is ſecured for the fine laid on Megaleas upon the ſame account, *ibid.* Philip takes the command of his troops from him, and puts him to death, 59, &c.

Leoſthenes, Athenian, informs Athens of Alexander's death, and animates them to throw off the Macedonian yoke, VII. 10. he is placed at the head of the Greeks allied againſt Antipater, *ibid.* his glorious exploits, 13. he receives a wound at the ſiege of Lamia, *ibid.* and dies ſoon after, 14

Leotychides, king of Lacedæmonia, in conjunction with Xanthippus the Athenian, gains a famous victory over the Perſians near Mycale, III. 240

Leotychides, ſon of Timæa, wife of Agis, paſſes for the ſon of Alcibiades, and for that reaſon is excluded the throne, IV. 49

Leptinus, brother of Dionyſius, is put to flight by the Carthaginians, with the fleet under his command, V. 28. he is baniſhed, 44. and ſoon after re-called, *ibid.* he kills Calippus, Dion's murderer, 92. he ſurrenders himſelf to Timoleon, who ſends him to Corinth, 109

Leptinus, Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambaſſador, IX. 177. Demetrius delivers him up to the ſenate, 182

Leptinus, Syracuſan, Hiero's father-in-law, X. 3

Leſbos, iſland of Greece, III. 5. revolt of that iſland againſt the Athenians, 394. the Athenians reduce it to its former obedience, 399

Letters. Invention of letters brought into Greece by Cadmus, I. 241

Leucon, king in the Boſphorus: mutual generoſity between that prince and the Athenians, V. 242

Leuctra, ſmall town of Bœotia, famous for the victory of the Thebans over the Lacedæmonians, V. 141. &c.

Levinus, Roman conſul, defeated by Pyrrhus, VII. 219

Levinus (M. Valerius) is ſent into Greece and Macedonia in quality of prætor, to oppoſe the enterpriſes of Philip, VIII. 74. enemies he excites againſt that prince, *ibid.* &c.

Lewis XV. king of France. Glorious teſtimony which that prince renders the French nation, VIII. 293, &c.

Library. Famous libraries of antiquity; at Alexandria, I. 193. at Athens, III. 64

Libya, part of Africa, IX. 253. war of Libya, or of the mercenaries, II. 26

Licinius, conſul, is ſent into Macedonia againſt Perſeus, IX. 13. he encamps near the river Peneus, 27. he is defeated in a battle 32, &c. and afterwards gains ſome advantage over Perſeus, 38

Licinius (C.) the conſul's brother, commands the Italian cavalry in his brother's army, IX. 30

Light-houſe of Alexandria, I. 192

Ligoras, one of the generals of Antiochus the Great, makes that prince maſter of the city of Sardis, VIII. 23, 24

Liguria, province of Italy, IX. 122. its inhabitants ſubjected to the Marſeillians, by the Romans, *ibid.*

Lilybœum, city of Sicily, beſieged by the Romans, II. 19

Lines of circumvallation and contravallation amongſt the ancients, III. 392

Lioneſs, Loena, or Leona, name of a courteſan. Statue erected in honour of her by the Athenians, III. 69

Liſſus, city of Illyria: Siege and taking of that city by Philip, VIII. 74

Livius, conſul, is ſent into Ciſalpine Gaul, to oppoſe the entrance of Aſdrubal into Italy, II. 90. he defeats that general in a great battle, 93, &c.

Loans. Law concerning them among the Egyptians, I. 199. in what manner ſuch as lived upon borrowing were conſidered amongſt the Perſians, II. 380

Lotus, an Egyptian plant of which they made bread, I. 224

Love. Care of the ancients to avoid admitting any thing into their dramatic poems relating to love, I. 105

Conjugal love. Model of it, VII. 325

Lucretius, prætor, commands the Roman fleet ſent againſt Perſeus, IX. 22 he beſieges Haliartus a city of Bœotia, and takes and demoliſhes it entirely, 37

Lucullus commands the Roman fleet ſent againſt Mithridates, and gains two great victories over that prince, X. 93. he is elected conſul and charged with the war againſt Mithridates, 105. he obliges that prince to raiſe the ſiege of Cyzicum, 108. and defeats his troops, *ibid.* he gains a complete victory over him, 113. and obliges him to take refuge with Tigranes, king of Armenia, 115. he ſends an ambaſſador to demand Mithridates, *ibid.* he regulates the affairs of Aſia, 116, &c. he declares war againſt Tigranes, 118. and marches againſt him, 120. he beſieges Tigranocerta, 122. he gains a great victory over Tigranes, 126. and takes Tigranocerta, 128. he gains a ſecond victory over the joint force of Mithridates and Tigranes, 134. his army refuſes to obey him, 135, 138. Pompey is ſent to command in his ſtead, 140. Lucullus returns to Rome and receives the honour of a triumph, 144. his character, 138. means which he uſed for acquiring the knowledge of the art of war, 93

Luſitania, part of the ancient Spain, I. 305

Lutatius, conſul, defeats the fleet of the Carthaginians, and puts an end by that victory to the firſt Punic war, II. 22, &c.

Luxury. Fatal effects of luxury amongſt the ancients, II. 437, &c. almoſt always attended with the ruin of ſtates, 438

Lycidas, Athenian, is for having the propofal of Mardonius heard, III. 226. he is ftoned, *ibid.*

Lyciſcus, deputy from the Acarnanians, endeavours to engage the Lacedæmonians in Philip's party, VIII. 78

Lyciſcus, Ætolian, is accuſed of having treated thoſe with great cruelty who would not eſpouſe the Romans againſt Perſeus, IX. 106. P. Æmilius acquits him, *ibid.*

Lycon, Athenian, commander of the Grecian troops in the army of Piſuthnes, is brought into the views of Tiſſaphernes, whom he joins, IV. 4

Lycortas, Polybius's father, is ſent ambaſſador by the Achæans to Ptolemy Epiphanes, VIII. 302. he is elected general of the Achæans, and avenges Philopœmen's death, 324. he is deputed a ſecond time to Ptolemy, 335.

Lycurgus, ſon of Eunomus, king of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to Charilaus, his nephew, III. 22. he endeavours to reform the government of Sparta and makes ſeveral voyages with that view, 23. on his return he changes the form of the government, *ibid.* &c. he goes to Delphi to conſult the oracle, and dies voluntarily by abſtaining from food, 34. reflexion upon Lycurgus's death, 35

Lycurgus, Spartan, corrupts the Ephori, and cauſes himſelf to be elected king of Sparta, VIII. 37. Chilo's attempt againſt him, 42. Lycurgus flies into Ætolia to eſcape the Ephori, and is ſoon after recalled, 62

Lydia, country of Aſia Minor, I. 29. king of Lydia, II. 234. it is ſubjected by Cyrus, 300. the manner in which the Lydians contracted alliance, 231

Lying. How much abhorred amongſt the Perſians, II. 385

Lynceus, king of Argos, III. 11

Lynceſtes Alexander is convicted of a conſpiracy againſt Alexander the Great, and put to death, VI. 178

Lyſander, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocles, ſon of Lyſimachus, VII. 192. after the murder of her huſband ſhe retires to Seleucus, and engages him to make war againſt Lyſimachus, *ibid.*

Lyſander is appointed admiral by the Lacedæmonians, IV. 115. he becomes very powerful with Cyrus the Younger, 116. he beats the Athenian fleet near Epheſus, 118. his envy of Callicratidas, ſent to ſucceed him, 120. he commands the fleet of the Lacedæmonians a ſecond time, 131. and gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægoſpotamos, 134, &c. he takes Athens, 140, &c. and entirely changes the form of the government, 141. he returns to Sparta, and ſends thither before him all the gold and ſilver taken from the enemy, *ibid.* he is ſent to Athens to re-eſtabliſh the thirty tyrants, 157. he ſtrangely abuſes his power, 160. he ſuffers the Grecian cities in Aſia Minor to conſecrate altars to him, 162. upon the complaint of Pharnabaſus he is recalled to Sparta, 163. Lyſander accompanies Ageſilaus into Aſia, 221. he quarrels with him, 225. and returns to Sparta, *ibid.* his ambitious deſigns for changing the ſucceſſion to the throne, *ibid.* he is killed before Haliartus, which he was going to beſiege, 238. ſome time after his death, the

the plot he had formed againſt the two kings is diſcovered, 248. Lyſander's character, 239. &c.
Lyſander is elected one of the Ephori at Sparta by the favour of Agis, VII. 316. he endeavours to make the people receive the ordinances of that excellent young king, 317
Lyſiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, renounces his power upon the remonſtrances of Aratus, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league, VII. 310. the Achæans make him their captain general three times ſucceſſively, and then expel him, *ibid.* he is killed in battle, 334
Lyſias, kinſman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of part of his dominions, and præceptor to Antiochus Epiphanes, VIII. 409. Antiochus gives him the command of the army againſt the Jews, *ibid.* he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 415. he poſſeſſes himſelf of the regency during the minority of Antiochus Eupator, IX. 166. the government of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine is given to him, 167. he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 169. he makes peace with the Jews, 171. he is delivered up to Demetrius Soter, who puts him to death, 179
Lyſias, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the iſlands, Arginuſæ, and at his return was condemned to die, IV. 123
Lyſicles commands the Athenian army at Cheronæa, and is defeated by Philip, V. 319
Lyſimachia, a city of Thrace, VIII. 190
Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's captains, provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, VII. 5. he enters into a league with Ptolemy Seleucus, and Caſſander, againſt Antigonus, 84. treaty of peace between thoſe princes, which is immediately broken, 97. Lyſimachus, Ptolemy, Caſſander, and Seleucus, againſt Antigonus and Demetrius, 143. they divide Alexander's empire amongſt them, 147. alliance of Lyſimachus with Ptolemy, 151. he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, 161. and divides it with Pyrrhus, 164. he obliges Pyrrhus ſoon after to quit it, 165. he marches againſt Seleucus gives him battle, and is killed, 196
Lyſimachus, Alexander's præceptor, accompanies that prince in his expedition, VI. 79
Lyſiſtrata, comedy of Ariſtophanes; extract from it, I. 110

M.

Maccabees. Martyrdom of them, VIII. 400, &c.
Macedonia, Macedonians. Macedonia, kingdom of Greece, III. 4. origin of the Macedonians, 8. commencement of their empire, 15. kings of Macedonia before Philip, V. 248. reign of Philip, 251. and his ſon Alexander, VI. 11. Alexander's ſucceſſors who reigned in Macedonia: Caſſander, VII. 147. Philip his ſon, 153. Demetrius Poliorcetes, 159. Pyrrhus, 161. Lyſimachus, 165. Seleucus, 195. Ptolemy Ceraunus, 196. Soſthenes, 201. Antigonus Gonatas, 206. Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, 282. Antigonus Doſon, 289. Philip, ſon of Demetrius, 360. Perſeus, VIII. 370. Macedonia is declared free by the Romans, IX. 90. and ſome time after reduced into a province of the Roman empire, 132

Machanidas becomes tyrant of Sparta, VIII. 79. he endeavours to ſubject Peloponneſus, 108. Philopœmen marches againſt him, 109. Machanidas is defeated and killed in battle, 112

Madathes, governor of the country of the Uxii for Darius, refuſes to ſurrender to Alexander, VI. 143. that prince ſubdues and forgives him, *ibid.*

Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts againſt Ptolemy Philadelphus, and cauſes himſelf to be declared king of thoſe provinces, VII. 255. he cauſes overtures of accommodation to be made to that prince and dies during the negociation, 261

Magas, brother of Ptolemy Philoparer, is put to death by his order, VIII. 15

Magi employed in the divine worſhip of the Perſians, II. 428. their religion, 430

Magiſtrate. Duty of a magiſtrate, X. 64

Magneſia, city of Caria, in Aſia Minor, I. 28. Artaxerxes gives the revenues of that city to Themiſtocles for his ſubſiſtence, III. 278

Mago, Carthaginian general, is ſent into Sicily to make war againſt Dionyſius the Elder, V. 27. after various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 35. he loſes a great battle, and is killed in it, I. 322

Mago, the former's ſon, commands the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and gains a great victory over Dionyſius the Elder, I. 323. the Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily againſt Dionyſius the Younger, 324. he ſhamefully abandons the conqueſt of Sicily, *ibid.* he returns to Carthage and kills himſelf through deſpair, 325

Mago, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet, ſent to aid the Romans againſt Pyrrhus, I. 340. he goes to Pyrrhus in order to found his deſigns in reſpect to Sicily, *ibid.*

Mago, Hannibal's brother, carries the news of that general's victory over the Romans at the battle of Cannæ to Carthage, II. 81

Mago, Carthaginian general, is taken priſoner in Sardinia, II. 86

Magoſa, city of India, beſieged and taken by Alexander, VI. 219

Maharbal, Carthaginian officer, endeavours to perſuade Hannibal to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, II. 79

Mahomet. Vulgar report concerning his tomb, VII. 270

Malli, a people of India; their war with Alexander, VI. 245. they ſubmit to that prince, 248

Mamertines, people originally of Italy: they ſeiſe Meſſina, city of Sicily, II. 2. they are defeated by Pyrrhus, VII. 233. a diviſion ariſes amongſt them, which occaſions the firſt Punic war, II. 3

Man. Wherein the ſcience of knowing mankind conſiſts, IV. 189. men are the ſame in all ages, 191

Manaſſeh, king of Judah, is put in chains by the generals of Eſarhaddon, and carried captive to Babylon, II. 209. he obtains his liberty, and returns to Jeruſalem, *ibid.*

Mancinus (L.) the conſul Piſo's lieutenant, engages raſhly in a poſt, from whence Scipio happily extricates him, II. 142

Mandana, daughter of Aſtyages king of the Medes, is given in marriage to Cambyſes king of Perſia, II. 234. ſhe goes to Media, and carries her ſon Cyrus with her, 251. ſhe returns into Perſia, 254

Mandanis, an Indian philoſopher, refuſes to follow Alexander in his train, VI. 238

Mandroclides, young Spartan, ſupports the party of Lyſander the Ephorus through zeal for the public good, VII. 317

Manethon, Egyptian prieſt, author of the hiſtory of the Dynaſties of Egypt, I. 229

Mania, wife of Zenis, is continued in the government of Æolia after the death of her huſband, and cauſes herſelf to be admired for her conduct, IV. 212. ſhe is aſſaſſinated with her ſon, by Midias her ſon-in-law, 213

Manilius (M.) conſul, is ſent againſt Carthage in the beginning of the firſt Punic war, II. 133

Manilius, tribune of the people, prepares a decree for appointing Pompey to command the armies againſt the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, X. 139

Manius Curius, conſul, gains a great victory over Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, VII. 237

Manius Aquilius, conſul, terminates the war againſt Ariſtonicus, IX. 210. and enters Rome in triumph, 211

Manlius (L.) is appointed conſul with Regulus, II. 7. they jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians, near Ecnomas in Sicily, *ibid.* they go to Africa, *ibid.* Manlius is recalled, 8

Mantinea, city of Arcadia, famous for the victory of Epaminondas over the Lacedæmonians, and for that of Philopœmen over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, VIII. 109

Maracanda, capital city of Sogdiana, ſubmits to Alexander, VI. 184

Marathon, ſmall city of Attica, famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Perſians, III. 152

Marcellus (M.) conſul, is ſent into Sicily to appeaſe the troubles there, X. 35. actions of Marcellus in Sicily, 37. he forms the ſiege of Syracuſe, 39. the conſiderable loſſes of men and ſhips, by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, obliges him to turn the ſiege into a blockade, 43. he undertakes ſeveral expeditions in Sicily, 46 he makes himſelf maſter of Syracuſe by means of his intelligence in it, 47, &c. he abandons the city to be plundered, 55. honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, 56. Marcellus, at firſt as prætor and afterwards as conſul, gains ſeveral advantages over Hannibal, II. 84.

Marcius (L.) Roman knight, preſerves Spain to the Romans by his valour, II. 90.

Marcius, ambaſſador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Perſeus near the river Peneus, IX. 16. he returns to Rome, 19. he is ſent again into Greece, to regulate affairs there, 21

Marcius Philipus (Q.) conſul, is charged with the war againſt Perſeus, IX. 41. he ſets out from Rome and advances towards Macedonia, 42. after great fatigues he penetrates into Macedonia, and takes ſeveral cities there, 43, &c.

Mardonius, ſon-in-law of Darius, enters Macedonia with an army, III. 144. his ill ſucceſs obliges Darius to recall him, *ibid.* he gives Xerxes flattering councils which induces him to invade Greece, 171. Xerxes chooſes him one of his generals, 189. that prince leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 217. he cauſes very advantageous offers to be made to the Athenians, which are rejected, 224. he enters Athens, and burns what had eſcaped of it, when taken the year before, 226. he is defeated, and killed at the battle of Platæa, 231

Mare of Phidolas, I. 87

Maronæa, city of Thrace. Cruel treatment of its inhabitants by Philip, VIII. 315

Marriages. Laws concerning them inſtituted at Athens and Sparta, III. 57

Mariamne, grand-daughter of Ariſtobulus, marries Herod the Idumæan, IX. 280

Marius lieutenant under Metellus ſupplants that general, and cauſes himſelf to be appointed general for terminating the war with Jugurtha in his ſtead, II. 172. he gets Jugurtha into his hands, and makes him ſerve as an ornament of his triumph, 174

Marius, (M.) Roman ſenator, is ſent by Sertorius to the aid of Mithridates, X. 104. he is taken by Lucullus and put to death, 109

Marſeillians. Their embaſſy to Rome, IX. 122. origin of the Marſeillians, *ibid.* they ſettle in Gaul, 123. wiſdom of their government, 124. their attachment to the Romans, 127. they obtain grace of the Romans for Phocæa, which had been condemned to be deſtroyed, 210

Maſiniſſa, king of Numidia, eſpouſes the party of the Romans againſt the Carthaginians, II. 124. he marries Sophoniſba and is ſoon obliged to ſend her poiſon, *ibid.* conteſts between Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians, 125. he defeats them in a battle, 128. he dies, and at his death appoints Scipio Æmilianus guardian of his children, 141

Maſiſtus, ſon of Darius and Atoſſa, is one of the ſix commanders of the army of Xerxes, III. 189. tragical death of Maſiſtus and his children, 244, &c.

Maſſiva, Numidian prince, is murdered in the midſt of Rome by Jugurtha's orders, II. 170

Maſtanabal, Maſiniſſa's ſon, ſhares the kingdom of Numidia with his two brothers, after the death of their father, II. 165

Mattaniah is placed upon the throne of Judah in the room of his nephew Jechonias, II. 214

Mattathias, Jew of the ſacerdotal race, refuſes to obey the ordinances of Antiochus, VIII. 399. he retires with his family into the mountains to avoid the perſecution, *ibid.* death of Mattathias, 405

Matho, in concert with Spendius, cauſes the mercenaries to revolt againſt the Carthaginians, II. 29. he is placed at their head, *ibid.* he takes Hannibal priſoner, and cauſes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 34. he is taken by the Carthaginians, who execute him, 35

Mauſolus, king of Caria, enters into a conſpiracy againſt Artaxerxes, V. 194. he ſubjects the Rhodians, and the people of Cos, 215, his death, *ibid.* honour

nour paid to his memory by Artemiſſa his wife, 216
Mazarus, Macedonian lord, is appointed governor of the citadel of Suſa by Alexander, VI. 140
Mazæus, governor of Memphis for Darius, abandons that city to Alexander, VI. 111. he commands the horſe in the army of Darius at the battle of Arbela, 131. he ſurrenders himſelf, and the city of Babylon, to Alexander, 136. that prince gives him the government of Babylonia, *ibid.*
Meals: Public ones inſtituted at Crete and Sparta, III. 26
Mecænas, favourite of Auguſtus, and patron of the learned, III. 353
Medea, her means to eſcape the purſuit of her father, X. 112
Medes, ancient people of Aſia, inhabiting Media, II. 221. hiſtory of the kingdom of the Medes and Perſians united, 334. revolt of the Medes againſt Darius Nothus, IV. 7. that prince obliges them to return to their duty, *ibid.* manners of the Medes, II. 251. manner in which they contracted alliances, 231
Media, kingdom of Upper or Greater Aſia, I. 27. deſcription of that kingdom by Polybius, VIII. 119
Medicine. Origin and antiquity of medicines, II. 415
Medon, ſon of Codrus, is placed at the head of the commonwealth of Athens, under the title of Archon, III. 13
Megabates, noble Perſian, occaſions the miſcarrying of the enterpriſe of the Perſians againſt Naxos through jealouſy of Ariſtagoras, III. 134
Megabyſus, governor of Thrace for Darius, occaſions the permiſſion that prince had given Hyſtæus to build a city in Thrace to be revoked, III. 129. he ſends deputies to demand earth and water of Amyntas, 130. inſolence of thoſe deputies at the court of Amyntas, and revenge taken of them by the ſons of that prince. 131
Megabyzus, ſon of Zopyrus, is one of the ſix generals of the army of Xerxes, III. 179. he diſcovers the plot formed by Artabanus againſt Artaxerxes, 270. he is charged by that prince with the war againſt the revolted Egyptians, 291. he ſubjects the Egyptians, and promiſes to ſpare their lives, 292. Megabyzus, in deſpair on ſeeing the Egyptians put to death, contrary to the faith of treaty, revolts againſt Artaxerxes, 293. he defeats two armies ſent againſt him by that prince, *ibid.* he is reſtored to favour, and returns to court, 294. Artaxerxes' jealouſy of Megabyzus at a hunting-match, *ibid.* death of Megabyzus, *ibid.*
Megacles, ſon of Alcmeon, puts himſelf at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, III. 61. his marriage with Agariſta, daughter of Cliſthenes, *ibid.* he drives Piſiſtratus out of Athens, and ſoon after recalls him, 62. he is obliged to quit Athens, 63
Megacles, friend of Pyrrhus, VII. 217. that prince in a battle gives his mantle and arms to Megacles, and diſguiſes himſelf in his, 218. Megacles is wounded and unhorſed in the battle, *ibid.*
Megadates is appointed viceroy of Syria by Tigranes, and governs that kingdom fourteen years, IX. 243. Tigranes recalls him from thence, X. 133.

Megaleas, Philip's general, devotes himself entirely to Apelles, that prince's minister, VIII. 46. he insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 54. Philip imprisons him, and then lets him at liberty upon giving security, *ibid.* his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 59 he kills himself to avoid a trial and the execution of sentence upon him, 60

Megalopolis, city of Arcadia, V. 213. Aratus makes it enter into the Achæan league, VII. 310

Megara, city of Achaia, its foundation, III. 18. that city enters into the Achæan league, VII. 304

Megistones, Lacedæmonian captain, is sent by Cleomenes to the aid of Argos, and is killed fighting in that city, VII. 344

Melitus, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, IV. 303. success of that accusation, 311. he is condemned to die, 313

Melon, Theban, is appointed Bœotarch with Pelopidas and Charon, V. 130

Memnon, Rhodian, re-instated in the favour of Ochus, against whom he had taken arms, V. 227. he endeavours to prevent Darius's generals from fighting the battles of the Granicus, VI. 27. he throws himself into Miletus, and defends that place against Alexander, 34. he defends the city of Halicarnassus, against that prince, 35. he transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, *ibid.* he advises Darius to carry the war into Macedonia, 38. that prince gives the execution of that enterprise to him, and makes him generalissimo, *ibid.* Memnon besieges Mitylene, and dies before that place, 39

Memnon. Memnon's statue in Thebais. Wonders related of it, I. 169

Memphis, city of Egypt: its foundation, I. 233. taking of that city by Cambyses, II. 357. and afterwards by Alexander, VI. 111

Memphitis, son of Physcon and Cleopatra, is murdered by his father, cut in pieces, and sent to his mother, IX. 219

Menander, Athenian, is made colleague to Nicias, general in Sicily, IV. 69. he forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is worsted, 73. is partly the cause of the defeat of the Athenians near Ægospotamos, 136

Menander, comic poet, change which he introduced in comedy, I. 116

Menander, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5

Mendes, city of Egypt, V. 192. a prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebus, *ibid.* he is defeated and taken prisoner by Agesilaus, 193

Menecrates, ridiculous vanity of that physician, V. 335

Menelaus, Ptolemy's brother, is defeated by Demetrius, and obliged to retire into Salamina, VII. 112. he surrenders himself at discretion to Demetrius, who sends him to his brother without ransom, 114

Menelaus supplants Jason his brother, high-priest of the Jews, and obtains his office, VIII. 381. Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, 385. Antiochus re-instates him in the high-priesthood, 386

Menes, or Misraim, first king of Egypt, I. 231
Menon commands the Thessalian troops of Cyrus's army, in that prince's expeditions against his brother Artaxerxes, IV. 168. Tissaphernes seises him, with the other Greek generals, by treachery, and puts him to death, 189. Menon's character, 191
Menostanes, nephew to Artaxerxes Longimanus, is defeated and put to flight by Megabyzus, III. 293
Mentor, Rhodian, is sent by Nectanebus into Phœnicia to support the rebels there, V. 219. he is confounded on the approach of Ochus, 221. he puts the city of Sidon into that prince's hands, 222. Ochus gives him the command of a detachment of his army against Egypt, 224. Mentor's actions in Egypt, 225. Ochus makes him governor of all the coast of Asia, and declares him generalissimo of all the troops on that side, 226. Mentor's conduct in his government, 227
Menyllus commands the Macedonian garrison, which Antipater puts into Munychia, VII. 19. Cassander takes the command of that fortress from him, 46
Mercenaries. War of the mercenaries against the Carthaginians, II. 26
Mercury, Egyptian, to whom Egypt was indebted for the invention of almost all the arts, I. 236
Mericus, Spaniard, delivers up one of the gates of Syracuse to Marcellus in the night, X. 54
Mermnadæ, race of the kings of Lydia, II. 235
Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, sends ambassadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health, II. 203
Meroe, daughter of Cyrus, becomes wife of her brother Cambyses, II. 362. tragical death of that princess, *ibid.*
Mesabates, eunuch, cuts off the head and hand of Cyrus the Younger by order of Artaxerxes, IV. 177. punishment inflicted on him by Parisatis, 209
Mesraim. See Menes.
Messengers, or Letter-carriers, established by the University of Paris, II. 393
Messenia, a county of Peloponnesus, I. 139
Messenians. First war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, I. 139. the Messenians defeat the army of the Lacedæmonians near Ithoma, 141, &c. they submit to the Lacedæmonians, 145. second war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* the Messenians are at first victorious, 146. then defeated, 148. they are reduced to the condition of the Helots, *ibid.* they are re-instated by the Thebans, V. 150. troubles between the Messenians and Achæans, VIII. 321. the Messenians put Philopœmen to death, 324. they are subjected by the Achæans, 326. fault of the Messenians, which occasioned all their misfortunes, V. 150
Messina, or Messana, city of Sicily, II. 2
Metellus (L.) consul is charged with the war against Jugurtha, II. 171. he is supplanted by Marius, *ibid.* he enters Rome in triumph, 172
Metellus (Q. Cæcilius) Roman prætor, defeats Andriscus, IX. 132, and sends him prisoner to Rome, *ibid.* he reduces another adventurer, named Alexander, *ibid.*

Methone, city of Thrace, deſtroyed by Philip, V. 168
Methon, aſtronomer, counterfeits the madman, and wherefore, IV. 29
Metrodorus of Scepſis goes ambaſſador for Mithridates to Tigranes, X. 121. Mithridates puts him to death, 122
Metrodorus, painter and philoſopher, is given to Paulus Æmilius by the Athenians for a tutor to his ſons, IX. 87
Micipſa ſucceeds his father Maſiniſſa in the kingdom of Numidia, II. 165. he adopts Jugurtha his nephew, and makes him co-heir with the reſt of his children, 166. Micipſa's death, 167
Micythus, guardian of the children of Anaxilaus. Prudence of his adminiſtration, III. 354
Nidias, ſon-in-law of Mania, aſſaſſinates his mother-in-law and her ſon, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of her riches and government, IV. 213. he is deprived of them by Dercyllidas, *ibid.*
Miletus, city of Ionia, III. 141. cruelties acted by Lyſander at Miletus, IV. 162. Miletus beſieged and taken by Alexander, VI. 33
Milo of Crotona, famous athleta, defeats the army of the Sybarites, and deſtroys their city, III. 362. extraordinary ſtrength of that combatant, 367. his voracity, 368. his death, *ibid.*
Milthocitus, Thracian, abandons the Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, and ſurrenders himſelf to Artaxerxes, IV. 184
Miltiades, Athenian tyrant of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, accompanies Darius in his expedition againſt the Scythians, and is of opinion that ſatisfaction ought to be made them, III. 127. an irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Cherſoneſus, whither he returns ſoon after, 131. he ſettles at Athens, 146. he commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Perſians, 156, &c. moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 161. he ſets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted iſlands, and has ill ſucceſs in the iſle of Pharos, 162. he is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, *ibid.* not being able to pay it, he is put in priſon, and dies there, *ibid.*
Mina, Greek money: Its value, IV. 375
Mindarus, Spartan admiral, is defeated and killed in battle by Alcibiades, IV. 108
Minerva, goddeſs, I. 33. famous feaſt at Athens in honour of her, *ibid.*
Mines. Product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, I. 286
Miniſter. Wiſe leſſons for a miniſter, II. 388
Minos, firſt king of Crete, IV. 345. laws inſtituted by him in his kingdom, *ibid.* &c hatred of the Athenians for Minos, 352. cauſe of that hatred, *ibid.*
Minucius (Marcus) is appointed maſter of the horſe by Fabius, II. 69. he gains a ſlight advantage over the Carthaginians in that dictator's abſence, 73. the people give him equal authority with the dictator, *ibid.* he engages with diſadvantage, out of which Fabius extricates him, 74. he acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, *ibid.* he is killed at the battle of Cannæ. 79

Miſael, one of the three young Hebrews preſerved miraculouſly in the furnace, II. 214
Mithras, name given the ſun by the Perſians, IV. 149
Mithridates I. king of Pontus, I. 159. that prince ſubmits to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, VI. 36
Mithridates II. king of Pontus, flies to avoid the rage of Antigonus, I. 159
Mithridates III. king of Pontus, adds Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, I. 159
Mithridatus IV. king of Pontus, I. 159
Mithridates V. ſurnamed Evergetes, king of Pontus, aids the Romans againſt the Carthaginians, I. 160. the Romans reward him with Phrygia Major, IX. 211. death of Mithridates, 223
Mithridates VI. ſurnamed Eupator, aſcends the throne of Pontus I. 160. the Romans take Phrygia from him, X. 71. he poſſeſſes himſelf of Cappadocia and Bithynia, after having expelled their kings, *ibid.* &c. he gives his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, king of Armenia, 73. open rupture between Mithridates and the Romans, 75. that prince gains ſome advantages over the Romans, 77. he cauſes all the Romans and Italians in Aſia Minor to be maſſacred in one day, 78. he makes himſelf maſter of Athens, 80. two of his generals are defeated by Sylla, 88. and himſelf by Fimbria, 92. his fleet is alſo twice beaten, 93. he has an interview with Sylla, and concludes peace with the Romans, 96. ſecond war of the Romans with Mithridates, under Muræna, 102. it ſubſiſts only three years, *ibid.*

Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius, X. 103, 104. he prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 105. he ſeiſes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, *ibid.* the Romans ſend Lucullus and Cotta againſt him, *ibid.* Mithridates defeats Cotta by ſea and land, 106. he forms the ſiege of Cyzicum, *ibid.* Lucullus obliges him to raiſe it, and defeats his troops, 108. Mithridates takes the field to oppoſe the progreſs of Lucullus, 111. he is entirely defeated, and obliged to fly, 112. he ſends orders to his ſiſters and wives to die, 113. he retires to Tigranes, his ſon-in-law, 115. Tigranes ſends him back into Pontus to raiſe troops, 122. Mithridates endeavours to conſole Tigranes after his defeat, 128. theſe two princes apply in concert to raiſing new forces, 130. they are defeated by Lucullus, 134

Mithridates, taking advantage of the miſunderſtanding in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions, X. 136, 139. he is defeated on ſeveral occaſions by Pompey, 145, 146. he endeavours in vain to find an aſylum with Tigranes, his ſon-in-law, 147. he retires into the Boſphorus, 152. he puts his ſon Xiphares to death, 154. he makes propoſals of peace to Pompey, which are rejected, 156. he forms the deſign of attacking the Romans in Italy, 158. Pharnaces makes the army revolt againſt Mithridates, who kills himſelf, 159. character of Mithridates, 160
Mithridates I. king of the Parthians, defeats Demetrius, and takes him priſoner, IX. 199.

he carries that prince into his kingdom, and gives him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage, *ibid.*

Mithridates II. furnamed the Great, aſcends the throne of Parthia after the death of his uncle Artabanes, IX. 218. he re-eſtabliſhes Antiochus Euſebes, who had taken refuge with him in his dominions, 241. he ſends an ambaſſador to Sylla, to make an alliance with the Romans, X. 73. death of Mithridates, IX. 287

Mithridates III. aſcends the throne of Parthia after the death of Phraates, IX. 218. Orodes his brother dethrones and puts him to death, 387

Mithridates, young Perſian lord, boaſts of having given Cyrus the Younger his mortal wound, IV. 176. Paryſatis cauſes him to be put to death, 208

Mithridates, eunuch, and great chamberlain of Xerxes, makes himſelf an accomplice in the murder of that prince, III 269. he is put to death by the puniſhment of the troughs, 273

Mithridates of Pergamus marches with troops to the aid of Cæſar in Egypt, X. 183

Mithrobarzanes, favourite of Tigranes, is ſent againſt Lucullus by that prince, X. 122. himſelf and his troops are cut to pieces, *ibid.*

Mitylene, capital of the iſle of Leſbos, III. 5. that city taken by the Athenians, 400

Mnaſippus is ſent with a fleet by the Lacedæmonians to retake Corcyra from the Athenians, V. 134. he is killed in a battle, 135

Mnaſkires, king of the Parthians, IX. 287

Mnevis, name of the ox adored in Egypt, I. 191.

Modeſty: Traces of it amongſt the ancients, II. 218. it was abſolutely neglected at Sparta, III. 46

Moeris, king of Egypt, I. 233. famous lake made by him, 177

Molo is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, VIII. 3. he makes himſelf ſovereign in his province, *ibid.* Antiochus defeats him in a battle, 9. he kills himſelf out of deſpair, *ibid.*

Moloch, name given Satan in Scripture, I. 273

Monarchy. Original deſign of monarchy, II. 223. monarchical the beſt form of government, 372

Monima of Ionia: Mithridates carries her with him in his train, X. 78. ſhe marries that prince, 113. tragical death of that princeſs, 114

Monuments erected by the ancients for thoſe who died for their country, III. 160. what kind of monuments the moſt durable, III. 313

Motya, city of Sicily, I. 308

Mummies of Egypt, I. 211

Mummius, conſul, is charged with the war in Achaia, IX. 137. he defeats the Achæans, 139. takes Corinth, and entirely demoliſhes it, 140. he preſerves the ſtatues erected in honour of Philopœmen, 143. noble diſintereſtedneſs of Mummius, *ibid.* he enters Rome in triumph, 146. he goes on an embaſſy into Egypt, Aſia, Syria, and Greece, 205

Murena commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Cheronæa, X. 87. Sylla, on ſetting out for Rome, leaves him the government of Aſia, 100.

he makes war againſt Mithridates, 101 and is defeated, *ibid.* he receives the honour of a triumph at Rome, 102

Muſeum: Academy of the learned, inſtitution under that name at Alexandria, VII. 172. deſcription of the building called Muſæum, 175

Muſicanus, Indian prince: Subjected by Alexander, VI. 251

Muſic. To what perfection carried by the ancients, II. 414. the Greeks conſidered it as an eſſential part in the education of youth, IV. 376. prizes of muſic at the feaſt of Panathenea, I. 34

Mycale, promontory of the continent of Aſia, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Perſians, III. 239

Mycenæ, city of Peloponneſus, III. 11. kings of Mycenæ, *ibid.*

Mycerinus, king of Egypt, I. 245. mildneſs of his reign, *ibid.*

Myron, Athenian ſculptor, I. 86

Myronides, general of the Athenians, defeats the Spartans near Tanagra in Bœotia, III. 309

Myrto, ſuppoſed ſecond wife of Socrates, from whom he had much to ſuffer, IV. 282

Myſcellus general of the Achæans, founder of Crotona, III. 360

Myſteries. Feaſts of the leſs and greater myſteries celebrated at Athens in honour of Ceres Eleuſina, I. 38

N.

Nabarzanes, general of the horſe in the army of Darius, perpetrates a horrible crime upon the perſon of that prince, VI. 151, &c. he retires into Hyrcania, 154. he ſurrenders himſelf to Alexander upon his promiſe, 165

Nabis makes himſelf tyrant of Sparta, VIII. 116. inſtances of his avarice and cruelty, *ibid.* Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of depoſit, 167. Nabis declares for the Romans againſt that prince, *ibid.* the Romans declare war againſt him, 196. Q. Flaminius marches againſt him, 198. beſieges him in Sparta, 202. obliges him to demand peace, 203. and grants it him, *ibid.* Nabis breaks the treaty, 212. he is defeated by Philopœmen, 218. and obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Sparta, 219. he is killed, 225

Naboonaſſar, or Beleſis, king of Babylon, II. 203

Nabopolaſſar, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares king of Media, beſieges Nineveh, and entirely ruins that city, II. 210. he aſſociates his ſon Nebuchodonoſor with him in the empire, and ſends him at the head of an army againſt Nechao, 211. Nabopolaſſar's death, 212

Nabucodonoſor I. or Saoſduchinus, king of Nineveh, II. 209. that prince is attacked by Phraortes king of the Medes, 228. he defeats him in the plain of Ragau, ravages his dominions, and puts him to death, 229. he ſends Holophernes with a powerful army to revenge him upon the people who had refuſed him aid, *ibid.* entire defeat of his army, *ibid.*

Nabucodonoſor II. is aſſociated in the empire of Aſſyria, by Nabopolaſſar, II. 211. he defeats Nechao, and conquers Syria and Paleſtine, *ibid.* he beſieges Jeruſalem, makes himſelf maſter of it, and carries away a great number of Jews captive to Babylon, *ibid.* Nabucodonoſor's firſt dream, 212. that prince marches againſt Jeruſalem, takes it,

it, and carries away all its treasures, 214. he defeats the army of Pharaoh king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, *ibid.* he causes himself to be adorned as a God, *ibid.* he besieges Tyre and takes it after a long siege, 215. Nabucodonosor's second dream, 216. he is reduced to the condition of the beasts, he recovers his former shape, 217. and ascends the throne, 218. he dies, *ibid.*

Naptha, kind of bitumen very combustible, VI. 135

Naravasus, Numidian lord, joins Barca in the war with the mercenaries, II. 31

Navy, naval affairs of the ancients, IV. 392

Noupactum, city of Ætolia, III. 3

Naxus, island, one of the Cyclades, III. 132. sedition at Naxus, which occasions the revolt of the Ionians against Darius, *ibid.*

Neapolis, quarter of the city of Syracuse so called, IV. 51

Nearchus, officer of Alexander, undertakes to view the coast from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf, VI. 257. he succeeds in his enterprise, 258

Nechao king of Egypt, I. 255. he undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red-sea, *ibid.* able navigators by his order undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, 256. Nechao marches against the Babylonians and Medes, to put a stop to their progress, *ibid.* he defeats Josiah king of Judah, who opposed his march, *ibid.* he beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemis, and returns into his kingdom, 257. on his way he goes to Jerusalem, deprives Jehoahaz of the crown, and gives it to Joiakim, *ibid.* he is conquered by Nabucodonosor, who retakes Carchemis, 258. death of Nechao, *ibid.*

Nectanebis is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Tachos, V. 192. he is supported by Agesilaus, *ibid.* by his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, 193. not being able to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Ethiopia from whence he never returns, 225

Nehemiah, Jew, cupbearer of Artaxerxes, obtains permission of that prince to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, III. 296, &c. he acquits himself of his commission with incredible zeal, *ibid.*

Neleus of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus had left the works of Aristotle, X. 99

Nemæa, games instituted near that city, I. 62

Neolas, brother of Malo and Alexander, brings the latter the news of Malo's defeat by Antiochus, and then kills himself through despair, VIII. 9

Neoptolemus, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, VII. 5. he joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 34. he marches with Craterus against the latter, *ibid.* and is killed in a battle, 35. character of Neoptolemus 32

Neoptolemus, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, I. 162. Pyrrhus causes him to be killed, *ibid.*

Neoptolemus, Greek poet, V. 330

Nerigliſſar puts himself at the head of a conspiracy against Evilmerodach, king of Assyria, and

and reigns in his ſtead, II. 219
Nero (C. Claudius Nero) conſul, quits his province and makes haſte to join his colleague, in order to their attacking Aſdrubal, II. 93
Nevius, Roman officer, ſurpriſes Philip's camp near Apollonia, in the night, VIII. 70
Nicæa, city built by Alexander, at the place where he had defeated Porus, VI. 232
Nicander is deputed by the Ætolians to Philip, VIII. 211. he endeavours to engage that prince to join Antiochus againſt the Romans, *ibid.*
Nicanor, young officer in Alexander's army: Raſh boldneſs which coſts him his life, VI. 224
Nicanor, Caſſander's brother, is put to death by order of Olympias, VII. 64
Nicanor, governor of Media, under Antigonus, is ſurpriſed in his camp in the night by Seleucus and obliged to fly, VII. 92. he is killed in a battle, 115
Nicanor, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, conſpires againſt that prince and poiſons him, VIII. 2. he is put to death by Achæus, *ibid.*
Nicanor, lieutenant general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches againſt the Jews and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, VIII. 410, &c. Demetrius Soter ſends him with an army into Judæa, to aſſiſt Alcimus, IX. 179. he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in battle, 180
Nicias, general of the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, IV. 16. he oppoſes the war of Sicily, in vain, 32. he is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ibid.* his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 43. after ſome expeditions he forms the ſiege of Syracuſe, 53. the city is reduced to extremities, 59. the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 62. Nicias writes to the Athenians the ſtate of his condition, and to demand reinforcement, 65. two colleagues are appointed him, 69. he is compelled by his colleagues to engage in a ſea fight, in which he is defeated, 74. his land-army is alſo defeated, 77. he hazards another ſea fight in concert with Demoſthenes, and is again defeated, 80. he determines to retire by land, 84. he is reduced to ſurrender at diſcretion, 88. is condemned to die and executed, 91
Nicias, treaſurer to Perſeus, throws the treaſures of that prince into the ſea by his order, IX. 47. Perſeus puts him to death, 48
Nicocles, ſon of Evagoras, reigns at Salamin after his father's death, V. 186
Nicocles, king of Paphos, ſubmits to Ptolemy, VII. 88. he makes an alliance ſecretly with Antigonus, *ibid.* he kills himſelf, 89
Nicocles, tyrant of Sicyon, is driven out of that city by Aratus, VII. 292, &c.
Nicogenes, in whoſe houſe Themiſtocles reſides at Ægæa, ſupplies his gueſt with the means of going to the court of Perſia in ſafety, III. 275
Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuſes to deſert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, VIII. 16. &c.
Nicolaus, venerable old man, harangues the Syracuſans, to diſſuade them from condemning the Athenian generals, IV. 89

Nicomedes I. king of Bithynia, builds the city of Nicomedia, I 157
Nicomedes II. son of Prusias king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, IX. 120. he kills his father, who had given orders for murdering him, and reigns in his stead, *ibid.* he sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, X. 71. his death, 73
Nicomedes III. ascends the throne of Bithynia, X. 73. he is dethroned by Mithridates, *ibid.* the Romans re-instate him, 75. he is again expelled by Mithridates, 78. Sylla reconciles him and Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 97. Nicomedes in gratitude for the services of the Romans, at his death leaves the Roman people his heirs, 104
Nicostratus of Argos commands one of the detachments of Ochus's army in that prince's expedition into Egypt, V. 225
Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, defeats the troops of Androsthenes, who commanded for Philip at Corinth, VIII. 181
Nilæus, son of Codrus, settles in Asia Minor, III. 17
Nile, river of Africa, its sources I. 179. cataracts of the Nile, 180. causes of its inundation, 181. time that its inundation continues, 182. measure or depth of its inundation, *ibid.* canals of the Nile, 184. fertility occasioned by the Nile, 185. double prospect occasioned by the Nile, 187. canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, 188
Nimrod, founder of the Assyrian empire, II. 178. history confounds him with his son Ninus, 178. Scripture places him very near Abraham; for what reason, 182
Nineveh, city of Assyria, its foundation, II. 203. description of that city, *ibid.* kings of Nineveh, *ibid.* &c. destruction of that city, 231
Ninus, king of Assyria, succeeds Nimrod and is often confounded with that prince, II. 182. he builds Nineveh, 183. his expedition against the Bactrians, *ibid.* he marries Semiramis, and has a son by her, 184. he dies soon after, *ibid.*
Ninyas, son of Ninus and Semiramis, reigns in Assyria, II. 198. effeminacy and sloth of that prince, *ibid.*
Nitocris, queen of Babylon, II. 219. inscription which she causes to be put upon her tomb, *ibid.*
No-Amon, famous city of Egypt, I. 250
Nobility. Wherein true nobility consists, VII. 82
Numidians, people of Africa, II. 31. their principal force consisted in cavalry, *ibid.*
Nypsius, general of Dionysius the Younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, closely besieged by the Syracusans, V. 79. he burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, 82. Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 95
Nysa, nurse of Bacchus, VII. 180
Nyssa, sister of Mithridates, falls into the hands of Lucullus, X. 113

O.

Obedience: Model of it in the education of the Spartan youth, III. 29. means necessary to be used

uſed for obtaining voluntary obedience, II. 258
Obeliſks of Egypt, I. 171
Ocha, ſiſter of Ochus, is buried alive by order of that prince, V. 203
Ochus, takes the name of Darius, from having put a ſtop to the inſolence of Smergis the Magus, III. 94. See Darius I.
Ochus, ſon of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army againſt Sogdianus, IV. 2. he gets that prince into his hands, and puts him to death, *ibid.* &c. he aſcends the throne of Perſia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, 3. See Darius Nothus.
Ochus, ſon of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brothers, V. 197. he aſcends the throne of Perſia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, 202. cruelties which he commits, 203. his ſucceſsful expedition againſt Phœnicia, 219. after thoſe expeditions he abandons himſelf to pleaſures, 227. he is poiſoned by Bagoas, 228
Octavia, widow of Marcellus, and ſiſter of young Cæſar, marries Antony, X. 198. ſhe leaves Rome to go to Antony, and arrives at Athens, 199. Antony forbids her to come any father, 200. ſhe returns to Rome, *ibid.* affront which ſhe receives from Antony, 205
Octavius, (Cn.) prætor, commands the Roman fleet againſt Perſeus, IX. 55. &c. means which he uſes to make that prince quit the iſland of Samothracia, which was deemed a ſacred and inviolable aſylum, 80. Perſeus puts himſelf into his hands, 82. Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 96. the Romans ſend him to Syria as ambaſſador, 168. he is murdered there, 177. the ſenate erect a ſtatue to him, 178
Octavius, Craſſus's lieutenant, endeavours in vain to conſole him for his defeat, IX. 305. he accompanies that general in his interview with Surena, 309. he is killed in defending him, 312
Odeon, or theatre of muſic at Athens, III. 317
Oebares, Darius's groom, by his addreſs ſecures the crown of Perſia to his maſter, III. 72
Oebazus, Perſian lord, barbarous cruelty of Darius in reſpect to him, III. 123
Oeconomy. It is one of the principal qualities of political ability, III. 322
Olthaces king of Colchis, is ſubdued by Pompey, who makes him ſerve as an ornament in his triumph, X. 162
Olympia, caſtle in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe, IV. 53
Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to Philip king of Macedonia, and has by that prince Alexander the Great, V. 258. Philip repudiates her, 328. Alexander carries her to Epirus, 329. Polyſperchon recalls her from Epirus, whither ſhe had retired during Antipater's regency, and divides the government with her, VII. 45. Olympias cauſes Aridæus, and his wife Eurydice to be put to death, 64. Caſſander beſieges her in Pydna, whither ſhe had retired, takes her priſoner and puts her to death, 65
Olympic. Solemn games of Greece, I. 62. ladies admitted to them, 83
Olympiads. Epocha of the Olympiads, III. 14
Olynthus, city of Thrace, V. 116. the Lacedæmonians declare war

againſt it, 117. it is reduced to ſurrender, 120. Olynthus, upon the point of being beſieged by Philip, implores aid of the Athenians, V. 275. Philip makes himſelf maſter of that city by the treaſon of two of its citizens, and plunders it, 280
Oneſicritus, philoſopher and hiſtorian: Alexander deputes him to the Brachmans, to engage them to join in his train, VI. 238. he can prevail upon none of them to do ſo except Calanus, *ibid.*
Oneſimus, Macedonian lord, not being able to diſſuade Perſeus from making war with the Romans, quits his party, and retires to Rome, IX. 50
Onias, ſon of Jaddus, high-prieſt of the Jews, ſucceeds his father, VII. 38. his death, 149
Onias, high-prieſt of the Jews, makes himſelf venerable for his piety, VIII. 371. he refuſes Heliodorus the treaſures kept in the temple of Jeruſalem, 372, &c. he is depoſed by the intrigues of Jaſon his brother, 378. his death, 381
Onias, ſon of the former, having failed of the high-prieſthood, retires into Egypt, IX. 186. he builds a temple there for the Jews, *ibid.* &c.
Onomarchus, brother of Philometus, general of the Phocæans, takes upon him the command of the troops in his ſtead, V. 268. he is defeated by Philip, and killed in the battle, 270. his body is faſtened to a gibbet, *ibid.*
Onomaſtes, governor of Thrace for Philip, executes the cruel decree of that prince againſt the people of Maronæa, VII. 315
Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, revolts againſt Ptolemy, and renders himſelf independent, VII. 101. he ſuffers himſelf to be ſeduced by Agathocles, and carries him troops into the country of the Carthaginians, I. 338. Agathocles puts him to death, *ibid.*
Ophra, king of Egypt. See Apries.
Oppius, Roman pro-conſul, marches againſt Mithridates, and is taken priſoner, X. 77
Oracles: Famous ones of antiquity, I. 48. of Dodona, *ibid.* of Trophonius in Bœotia, *ibid.* of the Branchidæ, 49. of Claros, *ibid.* of Delphos, 50. uſual character of oracles, 53. whether they are to be aſcribed to the operation of devils, or the knavery of men, 55
Orations: Funeral orations pronounced in Greece over the tombs of thoſe who had died fighting for their country, III. 377
Orator: Quality moſt eſſential to an orator, V. 234
Orcheſtra, part of the theatre of the ancients, I. 119
Orchomenos, part of Bœotia, where the battle between Sylla and Archelaus was fought, X. 91
Oreſtes, ſon and ſucceſſor of Agamemnon king of Mycenæ, III. 12
Oreſtes, Roman commiſſary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achæans the decree of the ſenate for ſeparating ſeveral cities from their league, IX. 133. he flies to eſcape the violence of the people, 134
Oretes, governor of Aſia Minor for Cambyſes, puts Polycrates to death, and ſeiſes the iſland of Samos, II. 365. Darius puts him to death, III. 99
Oroandes of Crete promiſes Perſeus to receive him into his ſhip, and embarks part of the riches of that prince, IX. 81.

he runs away with thoſe treaſures, *ibid.*
Orobazus is ſent ambaſſador to Sylla by Arſaces, king of Parthia, to make an alliance with the Romans, X. 72. Arſaces puts him to death at his return, *ibid.*
Orodes, king of Parthia, IX. 288. war of that prince with the Romans under Craſſus, *ibid.* Orodes, jealous of the glory Surena had acquired by the defeat of Craſſus, puts him to death, 315. grief of that prince for the death of his ſon Pacorus, 321. he chooſes Phraates for his ſucceſſor, who cauſes him to be put to death, *ibid.*
Oromoſdes, divinity worſhipped by the Perſians, II. 430
Orontes, ſon-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land army of that prince in the war againſt Evagoras, IV. 258. he accuſes Terribaſus falſely, 259. he terminates the war with Evagoras by a treaty of peace, 260. Artaxerxes puniſhes him for his falſe accuſation, 266
Orontes, governor of Myſia, joins with the provinces of Aſia Minor in their revolt againſt Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays them, V. 194
Orphans: Charandos's law in favour of them, III. 364
Orſaces, old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expeditions by order of Orodes, IX. 316. he is killed in a battle, 317
Orſines, governor of Paſſagardæ, re-eſtabliſhes good order throughout the whole province, VI. 258. he goes to meet Alexander with magnificent preſents, 259. he is put to death in effect of the ſecret intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, 261
Orthia. Inhuman worſhip rendered by the Lacedæmonians to Diana, ſurnamed Orthia, III. 30
Ortygia, iſland near Syracuſe, IV. 50
Oſæus. See Hoſea.
Oſiris; Perſian lord, marches at the head of an army againſt Megabyſus, III. 293 he is defeated and taken priſoner, *ibid.* Megabyſus generouſly ſends him back to Artaxerxes, *ibid.*
Oſtanes, chief of the Magi, accompanies Xerxes in his expedition againſt Greece, III. 241
Oſtraciſm, a kind of ſentence amongſt the Athenians, by which perſons were condemned to baniſhment, III. 163. the baniſhment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Oſtraciſm, IV. 26
Oſymandias, king of Egypt, I. 232. magnificent edifices which he cauſed to be erected, *ibid.* famous library formed by that prince, *ibid.* his tomb ſurrounded with a circle of gold, which Cambyſes afterwards took away, *ibid.*
Otanes, Perſian lord, diſcovers the impoſture of Smerdis the Magus, by the means of his daughter, II. 369. he forms a conſpiracy againſt that uſurper, *ibid.* he re-eſtabliſhes Syloſon, tyrant of Samos, III. 106
Othryades, Lacedæmonian, obtains the victory for the Lacedæmonians over the Argives by his valour, I. 138. he kills himſelf upon the field of battle, 139
Oxathres, brother of Darius, diſtinguiſhes himſelf in the battle of Iſſus, VI. 58. Alexander puts Beſſus into his hands, to inflict upon that traitor the puniſhment he deſerved, 182
Oxyartes, Perſian prince, entertains Alexander in his houſe, and gives him his daughter Roxana in marriage, VI. 205

Oxydracæ, people of India, VI. 245. their capital beſieged and taken by Alexander, *ibid.* they ſubmit to that prince, 248
Oxyrinchus, city of the Lower Thebais, I. 209. wonder related of that city by the Abbé Fleury in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, *ibid.*

P.

Pacorus, ſon of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and beſieges Antioch, IX. 316. he raiſes the ſiege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, 317. he returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed in a battle, 320
Pagan. Definition of a Pagan by Tertullian, III. 282. See Paganiſm.
Paganiſm. General reflexions upon paganiſm, I. 32. &c. abſurdities of paganiſm, 46. what the higheſt perfection to be expected from it was, III. 365
Palamedes, tragedy written by Euripides on the occaſion of the death of Socrates, IV. 226
Paleſtine, province of Syria, I. 29.
Paleſtræ, public ſchools in which the athletæ exerciſed themſelves in wreſtling, I. 69
Palicia, city of Sicily, near which there was a temple famous for the ſanctity of the oaths taken there, III. 356
Paliſades, difference of thoſe uſed by the Greeks and Romans in fortifying their camps, VIII. 170
Pammenes commands the troops ſent by the Thebans to the aid of Artabaſus, and occaſions his gaining two conſiderable victories, V. 204
Pammenes, Athenian general, marches to the aid of the city of Megalopolis, beſieged by the Lacedæmonians, V. 215
Pamphylia, province of Aſia Minor, I. 29
Panathenea, feſtival celebrated at Athens, I. 33
Panacratium, kind of combat amongſt the ancients, I. 72, &c.
Panetius, Stoic philoſopher, he accompanies Scipio in his embaſſy to the kings of the Eaſt, IX. 205
Pantauchus, Perſeus's ambaſſador to Gentius, engages that prince in his maſter's intereſt againſt the Romans, IX. 62
Panthæa, wife of Abradates, is taken priſoner by Cyrus, II. 275. conduct of that prince in regard to her, *ibid.* ſhe brings over her huſband to Cyrus, 277. her diſcourſe with him before he ſets out for the battle, 292. the exceſs of her grief upon the death of Abradates, 299. ſhe ſtabs herſelf with a dagger, and falls dead upon her huſband, *ibid.*
Paphlagonia, province of Aſia Minor, I. 28.
Papira, mother of the ſecond Scipio Africanus: Magnificent liberality of Scipio in regard to her, II. 158
Papyrus, plant of Egypt: Deſcription of it, I. 223
Paralus, laſt of the legitimate children of Pericles, dies of the plague, III. 384
Paraſanga, meaſure of ways peculiar to the Perſians, IV. 206.
Parchment: Invention of parchment, I. 223
Paris, Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had raviſhed, is carried by a tempeſt into one of the mouths of the Nile, I. 243. Proteus, king of Egypt, obliges him to leave Helen with him, and to quit Egypt, *ibid.* Paris returns to Troy, *ibid.*
Parmenio, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry, in the expedition of that prince againſt the Perſians,

fians, and does him great ſervice, VI. 25. he ſeiſes the paſs of Syria, and makes himſelf maſter of the ſmall city of Iſſus, 50. Alexander confides the treaſures laid up in Damaſcus, and the keeping of the priſoners to him, 68. Parmenio adviſes that prince to accept Darius's offers, 96. ſurpriſe of Parmenio, on ſeeing Alexander proſtrate himſelf before the high-prieſt Jaddus, 100. Alexander cauſes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conſpiracy of Philotas, 178. praiſe of Parmenio, 179.

Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, marries Darius I. III. 95

Parricide. Reaſons that prevented Solon from making any law againſt that crime, III. 60

Partheniatæ, name given to the illegitimate children of the Lacedæmonians: When grown up, they baniſh themſelves from Sparta, and ſettle at Tarentum in Italy, I. 141

Parthenon, temple of Minerva at Athens, III. 315

Parthia, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Aſia, I. 27. beginning of the empire of the Parthians, IX. 284. kings of Parthia from Arſaces I. to Orodes, 285, &c.

Paryſatis, ſiſter and wife of Darius Nothus, IV. 6. her aſcendant over her huſband, *ibid.* idolatry of Paryſatis for her ſon Cyrus, *ibid.* ſhe obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for that ſon, and cauſes him to be ſent back to his government, 146. cruelty and jealouſy of Paryſatis, 208. ſhe poiſons Statira, 210. Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, *ibid.*

Paſargada, city of Perſia, ſubmits to Alexander, VI. 150

Paterbemis, officer of Apries, not having been able to ſeiſe Amaſis in the midſt of the revolted Egyptians, is treated in the moſt cruel manner by that prince, I. 262

Patiſithes, chief of the Magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Perſia, II. 366. he is killed with his brother, 371

Patroclus, governor of Babylon for Seleucus, abandons that city upon the approach of Demetrius, and retires into the marſhes, VI. 96

Patroclus commands the fleet ſent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the aid of the Athenians beſieged by Antigonus Gonatas, VII. 254. he returns into Egypt, and at Caunus cauſes Sotades the ſatyric poet to be put to death, 255

Patroclus, Athenian, cites Demoſthenes before the judges as an infractor of the laws, V. 240. bad ſucceſs of his accuſation, *ibid.*

Patron, general of the Greeks in the pay of Darius, adviſes that prince in vain to confide the guard of his perſon to the Greeks, VI. 152

Paulus Æmilius. See Emilius.

Pauſanias, king of Lacedæmon, commands the army of the Greeks jointly with Ariſtides, and gains a great battle over the Perſians, III. 230. he makes the Lacedæmonians loſe the chief command by his haughtineſs, 235. his ſecret conſpiracy with the Perſians, 255. he is diſcovered, and puniſhed, 257

Pauſanias, king of Lacedæmonia, commands at the ſiege of Athens, IV. 139. he obtains peace for the Athenians, 157. he

he neglects to march to the aid of Lyſander, and is ſummoned to take his trial on his return, 238. he refuſes to appear, and is condemned to die, 239 he retires to Tegæum, and dies there, *ibid.*

Pauſanias, Macedonian prince, poſſeſſes himſelf of the throne of Macedonia, V. 249. he is dethroned by Iphicrates, *ibid.*

Pauſanias, young Macedonian lord, cannot obtain ſatisfaction of Philip for an inſult which he had received from Attalus, V. 331. he aſſaſſinates Philip in revenge, and is torn to pieces upon the ſpot, 332

Pauſiſtratus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, is defeated by Polyxenes, Antiochus's admiral, and killed in the battle, VIII. 249

Pay of the troops by ſea and land amongſt the ancients, IV. 396

Pedaretus, Lacedæmonians: His love of his country, III. 31

Pelaſgus teaches the firſt Greeks to live upon acorns, III. 9

Pella, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, V. 246

Pelopidas, Theban: His character, V. 121. his friendſhip with Epaminondas, 122. he abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 118. he forms the deſign of re-inſtating the liberty of his country, 124. he is elected Bœotarch, 130. he drives the garriſon out of the citadel, *ibid.* he cauſes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, 132. he gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 136. he commands the ſacred battalion at the battle of Leuctra, 141. he is created Bœotarch with Epaminondas, ravages Laconia, and advances to the gates of Sparta, 146. at his return he is accuſed and acquitted, 151. the Thebans ſend him ambaſſador to the court of Perſia, 155. his credit with Artaxerxes, 156. Pelopidas marches againſt Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to reaſon, 159. he goes to Macedonia to appeaſe the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as an hoſtage, 160. he returns into Theſſaly, 161. he is ſeized, and made priſoner by treachery, *ibid.* he animates Thebe, wife of Alexander, againſt her huſband, 162. he is delivered by Epaminondas, 165. Pelopidas marches againſt the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 165, &c. ſingular honours paid to his memory, 168.

Pelopidas, one of the officers of Mithridates, is ſent ambaſſador by that prince to demand ſatisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war againſt them in caſe of refuſal, X. 75, 76

Peloponneſus, province and peninſula of Greece, now called the Morea, III. 3. Peloponneſian war, 369

Pelops gives his name to Peloponneſus, III. 12

Peluſium, city of Lower Egypt, I. 189

Penſions. Manner of giving penſions by the kings of Perſia, II. 396

Pentacoſiomedimni, citizens of the firſt claſs at Athens, IV. 356

Pentathlum, aſſemblage of ſeveral agoniſtic exerciſes amongſt the Greeks, I. 74

Penthilus, ſon of Oreſtes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Tiſamenes, III. 12

Perdiccas, ſon of Amyntas II. is placed upon the throne of Macedonia,

Macedonia by Pelopidas, V. 159. &c. he is killed in a battle against the Illyrians, 255
Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, VI. 284 provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, VII. 5. he is appointed guardian of Aridæus, and regent of the empire, 4. he puts Statira, Alexander's widow, to death, 7. he quells the revolt of the Greeks in Upper Asia, 9. he puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 30. he marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, 31. his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, 33. killed there, 36
Pergamus, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor, I. 28. kings of Pergamus, 157. the kingdom of Pergamus becomes a Roman province, IX. 210
Periander, tyrant of Corinth, is ranked in the number of the seven sages, III. 85
Pericles, Athenian: his extraction, III. 299. his education, *ibid.* care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and of exercising himself in eloquence, 300. means that he employs for conciliating the favour of the people, *ibid.* he undertakes to reduce the power of the Areopagus, and succeeds in it, 306. Thucydides is opposed to him, 313. he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, 314. envy of the Athenians against Pericles, 315. he justifies himself, and causes Thucydides to be banished, 318. he changes his conduct in respect to the people, 319. his great authority, 320. his disinterestedness, 321
Expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus III. 325 about Peloponnesus, 326. and against Eubœa, 327. he reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, 328. he causes aid to be granted the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, 329. troubles given him by his enemies, 336. he determines the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 340. and to shut themselves up within their walls, 372. he prevents them from taking the field, whilst their lands are ravaged, 373. he makes the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 377. the Athenians divest him of the command, and fine him, 383. grief of Pericles for the death of his son Paralus, 384. the Athenians reinstate him, 385. and permit him to inroll his illegitimate son amongst the citizens, 387. death of Pericles, 388. his praise, *ibid.* &c.
Pericles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the island Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, IV. 124
Perinthus, city of Thrace, besieged by Philip, and delivered by the Athenians, V. 303
Perjury. Punishment of perjury in Egypt, I. 198
Perpenna, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, IX. 63. Anicius delivers him, and sends him to Rome with the news of his victory, 64. Perpenna, when consul, marches against Aristonicus, defeats him in a battle, and takes him prisoner, 210 he dies on his return to Rome, *ibid.*
Perseus, first king of Mycenæ, III. 1
Perseus, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, forms a conspiracy

racy against his brother Demetrius, and accuſes him to Philip VIII. 342. his ſpeech againſt his brother, 349. Perſeus removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 369. he takes poſſeſſion of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, 370. he puts Antigonus, whom his father had choſen his ſucceſſor, to death, IX. 3. he prepares ſecretly for war againſt the Romans, 3. he endeavours to gain allies, *ibid.* he tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, 4. the Romans are informed of his ſecret meaſures, 7. Eumenes confirms them concerning his proceedings, *ibid.* Perſeus endeavours to rid himſelf of that prince, firſt by aſſaſſination, 10. and afterwards by poiſon, 11. rupture between Perſeus and the Romans, 12. interview of Perſeus and Marcius, 17. war declared in form, 22. Perſeus advances with his troops near the river Peneus, 28. battle of the cavalry, in which that prince gains a conſiderable advantage, and makes an ill uſe of it, 32. he makes propoſals of peace, which are rejected, 36. he takes fright upon the arrival of the conſul Marcius in Macedonia, and leaves him the paſſage open, 45. he reſumes courage ſoon after, 47. he ſolicits aid on all ſides, 59. his avarice loſes him conſiderable ſuccours, 60. he is entirely defeated and put to flight by Paulus Æmilius at the battle of Pydna, 74, &c. he is taken priſoner with his children, 82. and ſerves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 95. death of Perſeus, 96

Perſepolis, capital city of Perſia, ſubjected by Alexander, who burns the palace of it in a party of debauch, VI. 148, &c.

Perſia, province of Aſia, I. 27. foundation of the Perſian empire by Cyrus, II. 234 kings who reigned in Perſia; Cyrus, *ibid.* Cambyſes, *ibid.* Smerdis, the Magus, 368. Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, 372 Xerxes, III. 170. Artaxerxes Longimanus, 272. Xerxes, II. IV. 1. Sogdianus, *ibid.* Darius Nothus, 3. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 144. Ochus, V. 202. Arſes, 227. Darius Codomanus, 229. deſtruction of the empire of the Perſians by Alexander, VI. 155. vices which occaſioned the decline, and at length the ruin of the Perſian empire, *ibid.*

Manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, II. 373. education of the Perſians in the time of Cyrus, 374. government of the Perſians, *ibid.* form of it monarchical, *ibid.* coronation of their kings, 375. reſpect paid to them, *ibid.* manner of educating their children, 376. public council of the Perſians, 377. adminiſtration of juſtice, 380. attention to provinces, 385. care of their finances, 394. of war, 397. entrance into the troops, *ibid.* arms of the Perſians, 398. their chariots armed with ſcythes, 399. military diſcipline of the Perſians, 401. their order of battle, 403. manner of going to battle, 408. quality of the Perſian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, 409. arts and ſciences of the Perſians, 411. their religion, 424. marriages and burials, 432

Petaliſm, kind of ſentence eſtabliſhed at Syracuſe, III. 356

Petra, a very ſtrong place in the country of the Nabathæa Arabians, VII. 95

Petra Oxiana, inacceſſible rock, VI. 194. Alexander makes himſelf maſter of it, 196, &c.

Peuceſtes, one of Alexander's captains, diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the ſiege of the city of Oxydracæ, VI. 245. provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, VII. 5. he oppoſes the progreſs of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 63

Phalanthus, general of the Spartans called Partheniatæ, ſettles them at Tarentum, I. 141

Phalanx, Macedonian: Deſcription of it, V. 259

Phalaris, his bull taken at the ſiege of Agrigentum, and ſent to Carthage, I. 315

Phalecus is appointed general of the Phocæans during the ſacred war, in the room of Phayllus, V. 270. he pillages the temple of Delphos, as the other had done, and is depoſed, *ibid.*

Phalera, part of Athens, III. 248

Phameas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, dares not take the field, when Scipio is to ſupport the foragers, II. 140. he goes over to the Romans, *ibid.*

Phanes of Halicarnaſſus, general of the Greek auxiliaries, in the army of Amaſis, goes over upon ſome diſcontent to Cambyſes, II. 356. the Greeks in the king of Egypt's ſervice murder his children in revenge, 357

Pharaoh, common name of the kings of Egypt, I. 233. one of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 246

Phariſees, powerful ſect in Judæa, IX. 231. perſecution of Alexander Jannæus and his party by the Phariſees, 252

Pharnabaſus, governor of Aſia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Perſia, aids the Lacedæmonians againſt the Athenians, IV. 107. he makes peace with the latter, 109. he ſends complaints againſt Lyſander to Sparta, 163. his whole province is ravaged by Ageſilaus, 232. interview of Ageſilaus and Pharnabaſus, 234. the latter is charged by Artaxerxes with the war againſt Egypt, V. 186. the enterpriſe miſcarries through his fault, 189

Pharnaces makes the army revolt againſt his father Mithridates, and is elected king in his ſtead, X. 159. he is declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 162. he is defeated and driven out of Pontus by Cæſar, 190

Pharnacias, eunuch of Xerxes II. ſupplies Sogdianus with the means for aſſaſſinating that prince, IV. 1

Pharos, its famous tower or light houſe, VII. 171

Phaſael, brother of Herod, is made governor of Jeruſalem, IX. 279. he is taken by the Parthians and put in irons, *ibid.* he kills himſelf to avoid the ignominy of puniſhment, *ibid.*

Phayllus, general of the Phocæans during the ſacred war, plunders the temple of Delphos to defray the expenſes of that war, V. 270. his death, *ibid.*

Phayllus, of Crotona, Athleta: His affection for the Greeks, and valour, VI. 134

Phebidas, Lacedæmonian, ſets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops againſt Olynthus, V. 117. he ſeiſes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, 118. he is deprived of the command, and fined, 119

Phedyma, daughter of Otanes, and wife of Smerdis the Magus, diſcovers that uſurper's impoſture, II. 369. ſhe marries Darius after the death of Smerdis, III. 95

Phenicia, or Phœnicia, province of Syria, I. 29. revolt of Phœnicia, againſt Ochus, V. 219
Pherendates, Perſian lord, made governor of Egypt by Ochus, V. 226
Pherenicus, one of the principal conſpirators againſt the tyrants of Thebes, V. 125
Pheron, king of Egypt, I. 242. action of that prince againſt the Nile, *ibid.*
Phidias, famous painter and ſculptor: Pericles gives him the direction of the public buildings at Athens, III. 317. ingratitude of the Athenians to Phidias, 337
Phila, Antipater's daughter, is married to Craterus, VII. 25. after the death of Craterus ſhe marries Demetrius Poliorcetes, *ibid.* ſhe kills herſelf with poiſon, 166. praiſe of that princeſs, 25
Phila, daughter of Seleucus and Stratonice, marries Antiochus Gonatas, VII. 207
Philadelphus, name given ironically to Ptolemy II. king of Egypt, VII. 170. See Ptolemy Philadelphus.
Philammon aſſaſſinates Arſinoe, ſiſter and wife of Ptolemy Philopator, VIII. 27. he is beaten to death with ſtaves by the ladies of honour to that princeſs, 127
Philæni, two brothers, citizens of Carthage, ſacrifice their lives for the good of their country, I. 303. the Carthaginians out of gratitude conſecrate two altars to them, *ibid.*
Philænius, Lacedæmonian, accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and compoſes the hiſtory of that great captain, II. 121
Philemon, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander in his own life time, I. 117
Philetæres, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, I. 158. VII. 257. means which he uſes for ſupporting himſelf in that kingdom, *ibid.*
Philidas, one of the conſpirators againſt the tyrants of Thebes, finds means to make himſelf their ſecretary, V. 124. on the day fixed by the conſpirators, he gives the tyrants a ſupper, 126. the conſpirators kill them at his houſe, 129
Philip, ſon of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia: His birth, V. 246. Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as an hoſtage, 249. he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, 251. beginning of his reign, *ibid.* he makes a captious peace with the Athenians, 253. his firſt conqueſts, 255. birth of Alexander, 258. Philip's care of his education, *ibid.* he endeavours to ſubject Thrace, and takes Methrone, at the ſiege of which place he loſes an eye, 269. he conciliates the amity of the Theſſalians, and expels their tyrants, 270. he endeavours to ſeiſe the paſs of Thermopylæ in vain, 271. takes the city of Olynthus, notwithſtanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 280. he declares for the Thebans againſt the Phocæans, and begins in that manner to ſhare in the ſacred war, 281. he lulls the Athenians with a falſe peace and falſe promiſes, 283. he ſeiſes the Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocæans and terminates the ſacred war, 287. he cauſes himſelf to be admitted into the council of the Amphyctions, 288
Philip, on his return into Macedonia, puſhes his conqueſts into Illyrium and Thrace, V. 291. he enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Meſſenians,

ans, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 295. Athens, declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, 296. Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, 297. Phocion drives him out of that island, 300. Philip forms the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 303. Phocion obliges him to raise both those sieges, 307. Philip subjects Atheas king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mœsia, 309. by his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphyctions, 311, &c. he seises Elatæa, 313. the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 318. he makes propofals of peace which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, *ibid.* battle of Chæronea in which Philip gains a great victory, 319. Philip in the council of the Amphyctions causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, 328. domestic troubles in his family, *ibid.* he repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, *ibid.* he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, 331, &c. memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 332. good and bad characters of that prince, *ibid.* &c.

Philip, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, VII. 360. his affection for Aratus, VIII. 30. he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, *ibid.* different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 39. strange abuse that Apelles his minister makes of his confidence, 41. irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 48. he takes Thermæ by surprise, 50. excesses committed there by his soldiers, *ibid.* prudence which he shews in his retreat, 53. troubles in his camp, 55. punishment of the authors of them, *ibid.* irruption of Philip into Laconia, *ibid.* new intrigue of the conspirators, 56. their punishment, 59. Philip takes Thebes of Phthiotis from the Ætolians, 63. he concludes a peace with them, 64

Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal, VIII. 68. he makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, 69. he is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Appollonia, 70. his change of conduct, 71. his bad faith and irregularities, *ibid.* &c. he causes Aratus to be poisoned, 72. he makes himself master of the city and castle of Lissus, 74. he gains several advantages over the Ætolians, 79. he is repulsed near the city of Elis, 81. different actions of Philip against Sulpitius, 93, &c. he makes peace with the Romans, 118. he enters into a league with Antiochus for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 128. bad success of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, 129. his cruel treatment of the Cyaneans, 130. he besieges and takes Abydos, 131, &c. he ravages Attica, 137. the Romans declare war against him, 138

Philip makes ineffectual attempts against Athens, VIII. 140. he endeavours to bring over the Ætolians into his party, 143. he is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 147. he is reduced to abandon the defiles along the Apsus, 156. ineffectual interview of Philip with Flaminius con-

concerning peace, 165. he is defeated by Flaminius near Scotuſſa, and Cynoſcephalæ in Theſſalia, 176. the Romans grant him peace, 184. Philip aids Quintius againſt Nabis, 196, &c. his conduct to Scipio, 248. Philip's cauſes of diſcontent from the Romans, 309, &c. the Romans order him to evacuate the cities of Thrace, 313. he diſcharges his rage upon the inhabitants of Maronæa, 315. he ſends his ſon Demetrius on an embaſſy to Rome, 316. complaints againſt Philip carried to Rome, 336. the Romans ſend back his ſon with ambaſſadors, 338. Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, *ibid.* plot of Perſeus againſt Demetrius, 342. he accuſes him to Philip, 346. upon a new accuſation Philip cauſes Demetrius to be put to death, 367. he diſcovers his innocence ſome time after, and Perſeus's guilt, 368. whilſt he meditates the puniſhment of the latter he dies, 370

Philip pretends himſelf ſon of Perſeus, and ſeiſes the kingdom of Macedonia, IX. 129. he is defeated and killed by Tremilius, 132

Philip, one of Alexander's captains: Provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5

Philip, in concert with his brother Antiochus, deſtroys the city of Mopſueſtia, to avenge the death of his brother Seleucus, IX. 240. he reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after having driven out Euſcbes, 241. Philip's death, 243

Philip, Phrygian, is made governor of Judæa by Antiochus Epiphanes, VIII. 386

Philip, ſoſter brother and favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of his ſon Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, VIII. 417. Lyſias uſurps that employment from him, IX. 166. Philip retires into Egypt, *ibid.*

Philip of Acarnania, phyſician, known from the ſalutary draught which he gave Alexander, VI. 42

Philipſburgh, town of Germany, beſieged and taken by the French, VIII. 292

Philiſcus is ſent by the king of Perſia to reconcile the ſtates of Greece, V. 154

Philiſtus, rich citizen of Syracuſe, pays a fine for Dionyſius, V. 6. Dionyſius baniſhes him, 44. Dionyſius the Younger recalls him to court, 57. death of Philiſtus, 77. he may be conſidered as a great hiſtorian, 58

Philocles, Macedonian, devoted to Perſeus, is ſent by Philip on an embaſſy to Rome, VIII. 364. at his return he delivers a forged letter to that prince under the counterfeited ſeal of T. Quintius, which occaſions the death of Demetrius, 366. Philip cauſes him to be ſeized, and put to the queſtion, in which he dies, 368

Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, is defeated and made priſoner with his colleagues at the battle of Ægoſpotamos, IV. 137. he is put to death, *ibid.*

Philomelus, general of the Phocæans, ſets them againſt the decree of the Amphyctions, and determines them to take arms, V. 266. he makes himſelf maſter of the temple of Delphi, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, 267. he is defeated in a battle, and throws himſelf headlong from the top of a rock, 268

Philonides, runner to Alexander the

the Great, famous for his ſwiftneſs, I. 77
Philopœmen, Megalopolitan: Determines his citizens to reject the offers of Cleomenes, VII. 348. he ſignalizes himſelf at the battle of Selaſia, 355. he diſtinguiſhes himſelf in the battle near the city of Elis, VIII. 81. his education, 82. his great qualities, 83. he is elected general of the horſe by the Achæans, 87. he reforms the Achæan troops, 88. he is elected captain-general of the Achæans, 107. he gains a famous victory over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, and kills him in the battle, 110, 112. the Achæans erect him a ſtatue, 113. honours which he receives in the aſſembly at the Nemæan games, 114. Philopœmen is defeated at ſea by the tyrant Nabis, 218. he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near Sparta, 219. after the death of Nabis he ſeiſes Sparta, and obliges that city to enter into the Achæan league, 225. he refuſes the preſents offered him by the Spartans, 226. he ſecretly favours the Spartan exiles, and cauſes war to be declared againſt that city, 286. he makes himſelf maſter of Sparta, and reinſtates the exiles, 288. he attacks Meſſene, and is taken priſoner, 322. the Meſſenians put him to death, 324. honours paid to his memory, 325. trial of Philopœmen after his death, *ibid.*
Philoſophers, Philoſophy. It is wonderfully proper for forming the hero, V. 178, 179. the ſtudy of this ſcience incompatible with ſlavery, III. 358
Philotas, ſon of Parmenia, commands a body of horſe in Alexander's expedition againſt Perſia, VI. 25. pretended conſpiracy of Philotas, againſt Alexander, 171, &c. he is put to death, 177
Philotas, governor of Upper Aſia, is put to death by Pithon, VII. 63
Philoxenus, poet, favourite of Dionyſius the Tyrant: His generous freedom, V. 42, &c.
Philoxenus, Macedonian, ſeiſes Harpalus, and cauſes him to be put to the queſtion, VI. 268
Phocæa, city of Ionia, is condemned to be deſtroyed by the Romans, IX. 210. the Marſeillians originally deſcended from that city obtain pardon for it, *ibid.*
Phocion, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of Eubœa, V. 299. he makes that prince raiſe the ſiege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 307. he rejects the offers of Harpalus, VI. 266. he endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lamian war, VII. 9. he is condemned to die by the Athenians, 47. his body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 49. the Athenians erect a ſtatue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 54. character, and praiſe of Phocion, V. 297. VI. 265. VII. 49. &c.
Phocis, part of Greece, III. 5. it is ravaged by Xerxes, 207. the Lacedæmonians deprive the people of Phocis of the cuſtody of the temple of Delphi, 327. Pericles reſtores it to them, *ibid.* the Phocæans till the ground conſecrated to Apollo, V. 265, 266. they are declared guilty of ſacrilege, and are fined, *ibid.* they take arms againſt the decree of the Amphyctions, *ibid.* the latter make war againſt the Phocæans, 267. Philip reduces them 287

Phœnix, fabulous bird; wonders related of it, I. 189
Phoroneus, king of Argos, III. 11
Phraates I. ſon of Priapatius, king of the Parthians, IX. 286
Phraates II. ſucceeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, IX. 286. he is defeated three times by Antiochus Sidetes, 215. he releaſes Demetrius, 216. he defeats Antiochus, who is killed in the battle, *ibid.* he marries one of that prince's daughter's *ibid.* he is defeated by the Scythians, who had called in Antiochus to their aid, and is killed in flying, 217, 218
Phraates III. ſurnamed Theos, king of the Parthians, IX. 287. he makes an alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, *ibid.* he eſpouſes the part of Tigranes the Younger againſt the father, *ibid.* death of Phraates, *ibid.*
Phraates IV. is placed by his father Orodes upon the Parthian throne, IX. 321. he puts his brothers, father, and his ſon, to death, *ibid.*
Phraortes, king of the Medes, ſucceeds his father Dejoces, II. 227. he makes himſelf maſter of almoſt all Upper Aſia, 228. he makes war againſt the Aſſyrians, *ibid.* he is defeated, *ibid.* Nabuchodonoſor puts him to death, 229
Phrataphernes, one of Alexander's generals: Provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, VII. 5
Phrygia, province of Aſia Minor, I. 28
Phrynicus, one of the Athenian generals, oppoſes the recall of Alcibiades, IV. 100. he is diveſted of the command, 101
Phrynon commands the army of the Athenians ſent againſt Mitylene, III. 83. he accepts the challenge of Pittacus, and is killed, *ibid.*
Phyllus, Lacedæmonian officer, is killed at the ſiege of Sparta by Pyrrhus, fighting valiantly, VII. 244
Phyſcon. See Ptolemy Evergetes, ſurnamed Phyſcon.
Phyto, general of the troops of Rhegium, defends that city againſt Dionyſius, V. 36. Dionyſius, after having made him ſuffer great indignities, puts him to death, 37
Pindar, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, III. 352
Piræus, port of Athens, III. 248
Piromis, name given to kings ſaid by the Egyptian prieſts to have reigned in Egypt, I. 251
Piſander, Athenian captain, determines the people of Athens to recall Alcibiades, IV. 101. the Athenians ſend him to treat with Alcibiades and Tiſſaphernes, *ibid.* at his return he changes the form of the government, *ibid.*
Piſander, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Ageſilaus his brother-in-law to command the fleet in his ſtead, IV. 232. he is defeated by Conon near Cnidos, and killed in the battle, 242
Piſiſtratus, Athenian, makes himſelf tyrant of Athens, III. 62. lenity of his government, 64. his death, 65. his character, 64. library founded by him at Athens, *ibid.*
Piſo (Calpurnius) conſul, commands at the ſiege of Carthage before the arrival of Scipio, II. 141
Piſuthnes, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts againſt that prince,

prince, IV. 4. he is taken and put to death, *ibid.*
Pithon, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, VII. 38. he cauſes Philotas to be put to death, and takes poſſeſſion of his government, 63. he is driven out of Media by Peuceſtes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, *ibid.* Antigonus puts him to death, 83
Pittacus of Mitylene, one of the ſeven ſages of Greece, drives out the tyrant who oppreſſed his country, III. 83. he commands the army againſt the Athenians, *ibid.* he challenges Phrynon their general to ſingle combat, and kills him, *ibid.* the inhabitants of Mitylene give him the ſovereignty of their city, 84. he voluntarily abdicates his authority at the expiration of ten years, and retires, *ibid.* his death, *ibid.*
Places. Attack and defence of places by the ancients, II. 406, &c.
Plague, contagious diſtemper, III. 378. deſcription of that diſeaſe, 379
Platæa, city of Bœotia, III. 4. the Platæans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, 152. they refuſe to ſubmit to Xerxes, 193. the Greeks decree the prize of valour to them after the defeat of Mardonius, 234. the Platæans inſtitute an anniverſary feſtival in honour of thoſe who died in the battle, 237. ſiege of Platæa by the Thebans, 369. Platæa beſieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 390. the Thebans demoliſh it entirely, V. 137. the Platæans retire to Athens, *ibid.* they induce Alexander to deſtroy Thebes, VI. 16. that prince permits them to rebuild their city, 34
Plato, philoſopher of Athens: He retires to Mægara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, IV. 326. Plato's travels into Sicily, where he appears for the firſt time at the court of Dionyſius the Younger, V. 23. his intimacy and friendſhip with Dion, *ibid.* Plato's ſecond voyage into Sicily, 57. wonderful change occaſioned by his preſence at the court of Dionyſius the Younger, 58. conſpiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, 60. Plato quits the court, and returns into Greece, 63. adventure that happens to him at Olympia, 64. he returns to the court of Dionyſius the Younger, 66. Dionyſius differs with him, 67. he permits him to return into Greece, *ibid.* Plato's death, 227
Plemmyrium, iſle near Syracuſe, IV. 52
Pliſtarchus, ſon of Leonidas, king of Sparta, III. 256
Pliſthenes, ſon of Atreus, king of Mycenæ, III. 12
Pliſtonax, king of Lacedæmonia, takes pains to cauſe a treaty to be concluded between Athens and Sparta, IV. 16. his death, 119
Plutarch of Eretria calls in the Athenians to the aid of Eubœa, beſieged by Philip, V. 297. his perfidy, 299. Phocion drives him out of Eretria, *ibid.*
Pœcile, Ποικιλη, gallery or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoicks uſed to aſſemble, III. 161
Poem, epic and dramatic, I. 92
Poeſy. Greek poets, III. 71, &c. emulation of the poets in diſputing the prizes in the Olympic games, I. 92. poets who invented

invented and improved tragedy and comedy, 94.
Polemarch, magiſtrate at Athens, employed both to adminiſter juſtice and command armies, III. 154
Poliorcetes, name given Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, VII. 86
Polyænus, ſenator of Syracuſe, harangues the people upon the action of Andranadorus, after the death of Hieronymus, X. 30
Polybidas, Lacedæmonian, is charged with the war againſt Olynthus, and takes that city, V. 120
Polybius, Greek hiſtorian: his funſtion at the funeral of Philopœmen, VIII. 325. he is choſen ambaſſador to Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Achæans, 335. he is elected general of the horſe by the Achæans, IX. 40. he is deputed to the conſul Marcius, to whom he preſents the decree of the Achæans, 42, 43. he returns to Achaia, 45. he ſaves the Achæans a conſiderable expenſe, 48. he is included in the number of the exiles, and carried to Rome, 110. his great friendſhip with the ſecond Scipio Africanus, 111. return of Polybius into Achaia, 143. zeal of Polybius in defending Philopœmen's memory, *ibid.* proof which he gives of his diſintereſtedneſs, 144. he eſtabliſhes good order and tranquillity in his country, 145. he returns to Scipio at Rome, and accompanies him to the ſiege of Numantia, *ibid.* after Scipio's death he returns into his own country, where he ends his days, *ibid.*
Polybius of Megalopolis, officer in the army of the Achæans, VIII. 111
Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, II. 364. ſingular hiſtory of that tyrant, *ibid.* his miſerable end 366
Polycrates, firſt miniſter of Ptolemy Epiphanes, renders that prince great ſervices, VIII. 305
Polydamas, famous athleta of antiquity, I. 70.
Polydectes, king of Sparta, and brother of Lycurgus, I. 137
Polydorus, brother of Jaſon, tyrant of Pheræ, ſucceeds him, and is ſoon after killed by Polyphron his own brother, V. 158
Polygamy. It was allowed in Egypt, I. 200
Polygnotus, famous painter; generous action of his to the Athenians, III. 161
Polyphercon, Syracuſan, in concert with Leptinus, kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, V. 91
Polyphron is ſubſtituted to Jaſon, tyrant of Pheræ his brother, V. 158. he kills Polydorus his other brother, and is ſoon after killed himſelf by Alexander of Pheræ, *ibid.*
Polyſperchon, one of the generals of Alexander's army, reduces a country called Babacene, VI. 206. he ridicules a Perſian for proſtrating himſelf before Alexander, 210. that prince cauſes him to be put in priſon, and pardons him ſoon after, *ibid.* Polyſperchon takes the city of Ora, 220. he is appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor of Macedonia by Antipater, VII 43. he recalls Olympias, 45. he endeavours to ſecure Greece to himſelf, *ibid.* he is driven out of Macedonia by Caſſander, 65. he cauſes Hercules, the ſon of Alexander, and his mother Barſina to be put to death, 98
Polyſtratus, Macedonian ſoldier, carries drink to Darius at the point of death, and receives his laſt words, VI. 154

Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, is defeated by Livius, and reduced to fly, VIII. 246. he defeats Pauſiſtratus, who commanded the fleet of Rhodes by a ſtratagem, 249. he is defeated by Æmilius, and reduced to retire to Epheſus, 252
Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Dionyſius, having declared againſt that prince, flies to avoid falling into his hands, V. 32
Polyzelus, brother of Hiero I. king of Syracuſe, gives his brother umbrage, III. 350. Theron, his ſon-in-law, takes his part, *ibid.* peace is made by the mediation of the poet Simonides, *ibid.*
Pompeius (L.) Roman officer, commands a ſmall body of troops during the war with Perſeus, and retires to an eminence, where he defends himſelf valiantly, IX. 38
Pompey ſucceeds Lucullus in the war againſt Mithridates, X. 142. his conduct upon arriving in his government, 143. he offers Mithridates peace, 145. he gains ſeveral victories over that prince, *ibid.* he marches into Armenia againſt Tigranes, who comes and ſurrenders himſelf to him, 147. he purſues Mithridates, and in his way ſubjects the Albanians and Iberians, 151. tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes poſſeſſion, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides, 152. he marches to Pontus, 154. he returns into Syria, 156. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia, 161. he takes Jeruſalem, enters the temple, and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, IX. 276. after having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, X. 162. he receives the honour of a triumph, *ibid.* after his defeat at Pharſalia, he retires into Egypt, 176. he is killed, 178
Pontus, kingdom of Aſia Minor, I. 28. chronological abridgment of the hiſtory of the kings of Pontus, 159
Popilius (C.) is ſent ambaſſador into Egypt, in order to put an end to the war there, VIII. 388. he obliges Antiochus to quit Egypt, and leave the two Ptolemies, brothers, in quiet poſſeſſion of it, 394. he is ſent into Peloponneſus to publiſh the decree of the ſenate there in favour of the Greeks, IX. 41
Porphyry, Tyrian, a learned pagan, declared enemy of Chriſtianity and the holy Scriptures, VIII. 429
Porus, Indian king, refuſes to ſubmit to Alexander, VI. 223. he is defeated and taken priſoner, 228. Alexander reſtores him to his dominions, 232
Poſts. Invention of poſts and couriers, II. 332
Pothinus, Ptolemy's miniſter, dethrones Cleopatra, X. 176. he adviſes the death of Pompey, 177. he endeavours to render Cæſar odious to the Egyptians, 180. he prevents the effect of Cæſar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms againſt him, 182. Cæſar cauſes him to be put to death, 184
Potidæa, city of Macedonia, revolts againſt the Athenians, to whom it was tributary, III. 331. it is beſieged and taken by the Athenians, 332. Philip takes that city from them, V. 256
Poverty: Love of poverty inſtituted at Sparta, IV. 341
Power, or Rule, the ſpirit of it how umbrageous, X. 67
Prexaſpes, confidant of Cambyſes, kills Smerdis by that prince's

prince's order, II. 363. his base and monstrous flattery of Cambyses, 364. he promises the Magi to declare Smerdis the Magus the true son of Cyrus to the people, 370. he speaks to the people from the top of a tower, declares the contrary to them, throws himself down from the top of the tower, and is killed, *ibid.*

Priapatius, son and successor of Arsaces II. king of the Parthians, IX. 286

Priene, city of Ionia, III. 327

Princes. See Kings.

Procles, son of Aristodemus, reigns at Sparta with his brother Eurysthenes, I. 135

Proculeius, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Cæsar's hands, X. 218. he makes himself master of the person of that princess, *ibid.* Cæsar orders him to ask her what she desires of him, *ibid.*

Prodicos, name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of the kings, I. 138

Proctus, king of Argos, III. 11

Promachus, one of Alexander's officers, dies in a debauch with that prince, VI. 263

Prophecies in respect to Pharaoh Hophra and the Egyptians, I. 260, &c. prophecies concerning Nineveh, II. 232. Babylon, 306. Cyrus, 308. Alexander, 339. Antiochus the Great, VIII. 296. Seleucus Philopator, 375. Antiochus Epiphanes, 418. Jacob's prophecy concerning the Messiah, IX. 283

Prosperity. Proof to which it puts the soul, II. 256. train of prosperity, IV. 245.

Protagoras, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamin, and reigns in his stead, V. 220. Ochus confirms the possession of the throne to him, 223

Protagoras of Abdera, sophist; opinion of Protagoras concerning the Divinity, IV. 46. the Athenians expel him their city, and cause his works to be burnt, 47

Proteas, Macedonian: Alexander drinks his health in the bowl of Hercules, VI. 283.

Proteus, king of Egypt, I. 242. He stops Helen and her riches, and restores her to Menelaus, I. 243, &c.

Prothous, senator of Sparta, opposes the war of the Thebans, but is disregarded, V. 139

Protogenes, famous painter. Demetrius's regard for him during the siege of Rhodes, VII. 136.

Protomachus, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands Arginusæ, and were condemned at their return, IV. 123

Providence. Discourse of Socrates upon Providence, IV. 293

Proxenes, of Bœotia, commands a body of Grecian troops in the army of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes, IV. 168. he is seized by treachery, and put to death, 189. character of Proxenes, 190.

Prusias I. king of Bithynia, I. 157.

Prusias II. king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, declares for the Romans against Antiochus, VIII. 251. he makes war against Eumenes, 327. services done him by Hannibal during that war, *ibid.* Prusias agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, 328. he endeavours to induce the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, IX. 48. his abject flattery in the senate, 114.

war of Prusias with Attalus, 118. the senate oblige him to lay down his arms, and to make Attalus satisfaction, *ibid.* Prusias, intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him, 120

Prytanis, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, III. 15

Psammenitus, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who uses him with clemeney, I. 268. he endeavours to re-ascend the throne, and is put to death, *ibid.*

Psammetieus, one of the twelve kings who reigned at the same time in Egypt, is banished into the fens, and on what occasion, I. 252. he defeats the other eleven kings, and remains sole monarch of Egypt, *ibid.* he makes war against the king of Assyria, 253. he besieges Azotus, and takes it after a siege of twenty-nine years, 254. he prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, *ibid.* his method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, *ibid.*

Psammis, king of Egypt, I. 258

Ptolemaida, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, VII. 166

Ptolemy, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdiccas, V. 159. Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, 160

Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, VI. 59

Ptolemy I. son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, VI. 219. he is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, 251. he is cured soon after, *ibid.* provinces which fall to him after the death of Alexander, VII. 5. he causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 29. he enters into a league with Antipater, Craterus, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 31. he makes himself master of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, 41. he takes Jerusalem, *ibid.* he forms a league with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus, 84. he seises the island of Cyprus, 88. he defeats Demetrius in battle, 89. and makes himself master of Tyre, 90. defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, 91. different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 99. Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 112, &c.

Ptolemy assumes the title of king, VII. 115. he sends aid to the Rhodians besieged by Demetrius, 127. the Rhodians, in gratitude, give him the title of *Soter*, 136. Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 144. those four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, 147. Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus from Demetrius, 157. he renews the league with Lysimachus and Seleucus against Demetrius, 161. he abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 170. death of Ptolemy Soter, 177. praise of that prince, *ibid.* famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 172, 173

Ptolemy II. surnamed Philadelphus, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt. VII. 170. the commencement of his reign, 190. his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, *ibid.* he causes the holy Scriptures to be transl-

lated

lated into Greek, to adorn his library, 207. he cultivates the amity of the Romans, 252. his liberality to the Roman ambaſſadors, *ibid.* Ptolemy ſends aid to the Athenians beſieged by Antigonus, 254. revolt of Magas againſt Ptolemy, 256. the latter quells a conſpiracy againſt his perſon, *ibid.* works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce, 260. he comes to an accommodation with Magas, 261. war between Ptolemy and Antiochus, 263. peace between thoſe princes, 264. death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 270. character and qualities of that prince, 271. his taſte for arts and ſciences, 269. his application to make commerce flouriſh in his dominions, 260

Ptolemy III. ſurnamed Evergetes, ſucceeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, VII. 270. he avenges the death of his ſiſter Berenice, puts Laodice to death, and ſeiſes part of Aſia, 276. in returning from that expedition he goes to Jeruſalem, and offers ſacrifices there to the God of Iſrael, 279. league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus againſt Ptolemy, 281. the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, 282. he cauſes Antiochus to be ſeiſed, and impriſons him, 285. he augments the library of Alexandria, *ibid.* he gives Joſeph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria, 288. arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 361. death of Ptolemy Evergetes, 362. Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 363

Ptolemy IV. ſurnamed Philopator, aſcends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, VII. 362. injuſtice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, VIII. 33. Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Cœloſyria from Ptolemy, 6. ſhort truce between thoſe two princes, 17. Ptolemy gains a great victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 20. he comes to Jeruſalem, 21. rage and revenge of Ptolemy againſt the Jews, becauſe they refuſe to let him enter into the ſanctuary, *ibid.* he grants Antiochus peace, 22. the Egyptians revolt againſt Philopator, 25. that prince gives himſelf up to all manner of exceſſes, 26. he puts Arſinoe, his wife and ſiſter to death, 27. he dies worn out with debauches, 123, 124

Ptolemy V. called Epiphanes, at the age of five years aſcends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy Philopator, VIII. 126. Antiochus the Great and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, 128. Ptolemy is put under the guardianſhip of the Romans, 136. Ariſtomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Paleſtine and Cœloſyria from Antiochus, 152. Antiochus retakes thoſe provinces, *ib.* Scopas's conſpiracy againſt Ptolemy fruſtrated by Ariſtomenes, 192. Ptolemy is declared of age, 193. he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 213. he makes an alliance with the Achæans, 302. he treats Hyrcanus, the ſon of Joſeph, with great marks of favour and friendſhip, 303, &c. he takes a diſguſt to Ariſtomenes, and puts him to death, 304. he abandons himſelf to all ſorts of exceſſes, *ibid.* the Egyptians form ſeveral conſpiracies againſt him, *ibid.* Ptolemy chooſes Polycrates for his prime miniſter, 305. with that miniſter's

ſter's aſſiſtance he gets the better of the rebels, 305. he renews the alliance with the Achæans, *ibid.* he forms the deſign of attacking Seleucus, 336. the principal perſons of his court poiſon him. *ibid.*

Ptolemy VI. called Philometor, at ſix years old ſucceeds his father Ptolemy Epiphanes, VIII. 336. cauſe of war ariſes between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 378. coronation of Ptolemy, 379. he is defeated by Antiochus, 382. he loſes a ſecond battle againſt Antiochus, and is taken priſoner, 383. the Alexandrians elect his brother Ptolemy Evergetes II. ſurnamed alſo Phyſcon, in his place, 386. Antiochus replaces Philometor in appearance upon the throne, 390. the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 391. the Romans prevent Antiochus from diſturbing them, 394. Philometor is dethroned by his brother Phyſcon, IX. 171. he goes to Rome to implore the ſenate's clemency, 172. the Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between the two brothers, 173. new differences ariſe between Philometor and Phyſcon, *ibid.* Philometor refuſes to evacuate the iſland of Cyprus, 175. he gains a victory over Phyſcon, and takes him priſoner, 176. he pardons him and reſtores him his dominions, *ibid.* he marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Bala, 186. he permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, *ibid.* he marches to the aid of Alexander his ſon-in-law, attacked by Demetrius, 188. Apollonius's plot againſt Ptolemy, *ibid.* upon the refuſal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometor takes his daughter from him, gives her to Demetrius, and aids him in aſcending his father's throne, *ibid.*

Ptolemy VII. called Evergetes II. and Phyſcon, ſon of Ptolemy Epiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldeſt brother's ſtead, VIII. 386. the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 391. they prepare to defend themſelves againſt the attacks of Antiochus, *ibid.* the Romans oblige that prince to leave thoſe two princes in tranquillity, 395. Phyſcon dethrones Philometor, IX. 171. the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 173. Phyſcon, diſſatisfied with the part given to him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Cyprus, *ibid.* the Romans adjudge it to him, 174. the people of Cyrenaica oppoſe Phyſcon's entrance into their country, 175. that prince re-eſtabliſhes himſelf in that country, and draws attempts againſt his life upon himſelf by his bad conduct, *ibid.* he makes a ſecond voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints thither againſt his brother, *ibid.* he undertakes to make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Cyprus, 176. Philometor beats and takes him priſoner and afterwards generouſly reſtores him his dominions, *ibid.*

Phyſcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometor, aſcends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's ſon to death, IX. 190. Phyſcon's exceſs of folly and debauchery, 203. Scipo Africanus the Younger goes to that prince's court, 205. Phyſcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter, by Philometor, named alſo Cleopatra,

patra, 218. horrible cruelties which he commits in Egypt, *ibid.* a general revolt reduces him to quit that kingdom, 219. new cruelties of Phyſcon, *ibid.* he returns into Egypt, and re-aſcends the throne, 221. he ſupports the impoſtor Alexander Zebina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, *ibid.* he gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 224. Phyſcon's death, 225

Ptolemy VIII. called Lathyrus, ſucceeds his father Phyſcon, IX. 226. Cleopatra his mother obliges him to repudiate his eldeſt ſiſter, and marry Selena his youngeſt, 226. Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cyzicenian againſt John Hyrcanus, 229. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himſelf with the kingdom of Cyprus, 234. Lathyrus ſends an army to beſiege Ptolemais, and marches in perſon againſt Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, 235. barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, 236. he raiſes the ſiege of Ptolemais, *ibid.* he makes an ineffectual attempt againſt Egypt, *ibid.* he is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 243. a rebellion riſes up againſt him in Egypt, *ibid.* Lathyrus deſtroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, *ibid.* he dies ſoon after, *ibid.*

Ptolemy IX. king of Egypt. See Alexander ſon of Phyſcon.

Ptolemy X. ſon of Alexander I. king of Egypt. See Alexander II.

Ptolemy XI. ſurnamed Auletes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II. IX. 252. he cauſes himſelf to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæſar and Pompey, X. 164. he oppreſſes his ſubjects in conſequence with taxations, 165. he is dethroned, *ibid.* the Alexandrians ſubſtitute his daughter Berenice in his place, *ibid.* he goes to Rome, and with money gains the ſuffrages of the principal perſons of the commonwealth for his re-eſtabliſhment, 166. he cauſes moſt of the ambaſſadors, ſent by the Egyptians to Rome to juſtify their revolt, to be murdered, 167. an oracle of the Sybil is trumpt up againſt him, 198. Gabinius re-inſtates him upon the throne, 174. Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, *ibid.* his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, *ibid.* death of Auletes, 175

Ptolemy XII. ſon of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his ſiſter Cleopatra, X. 175. he expels Cleopatra, 176. he cauſes Pompey to be aſſaſſinated by the advice of Theodotus, 177, 178. Cæſar makes himſelf judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 179. he ſecures the perſon of Ptolemy, 182. he releaſes him, 187. Ptolemy renews the war againſt Cæſar, *ibid.* he is defeated, and drowned in the Nile endeavouring to eſcape, 188

Ptolemy I. king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, is depoſed by the Romans, who confiſcate his treaſures, IX. 259. he poiſons himſelf, *ibid.*

Ptolemy II. ſon of Ptolemy Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæſar, X. 182. Cæſar gives him the crown of Egypt jointly with

with Cleopatra, 189. death of Ptolemy, poiſoned by that princeſs, 191
Ptolemy, ſon of Anthony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Anthony, X. 202
Ptolemy Apion, natural ſon of Phyſcon, is made king of Cyrenaica by his father, IX. 226. he leaves his kingdom to the Romans at his death, 239
Ptolemy Ceraunus, or Thunder, ſon of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court and retires firſt to Lyſimachus, and afterwards to Seleucus, VII. 171. he engages the latter in a war with Lyſimachus, 192. he aſſaſſinates Seleucus and poſſeſſes himſelf of his dominions, 197. he marries his ſiſter Arſinoe, widow of Lyſimachus, and cauſes her two children by that prince to be murdered, 198. he baniſhes her into Samothracia, 199. he is ſoon after puniſhed for thoſe parricides by the Gauls, who kill him in a battle, 201
Ptolemy Macron, governor of the iſland of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor, revolts againſt that prince, enters into the ſervice of Antiochus Epiphanes, and gives him poſſeſſion of the iſland of Cyprus, VIII. 383. Antiochus gives him a ſhare in his confidence, and the government of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, *ibid.* he marches againſt the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 411. he becomes a friend to the Jews, IX. 167. Antiochus Eupator deprives him of his government, *ibid.* Ptolemy, through deſpair, poiſons himſelf, *ibid.*
Ptolemy, ſon of Pyrrhus, is killed in a battle againſt the Lacedæmonians, VII. 246
Ptolemy, one of the principal officers of Philip, unites with Apelles in his conſpiracy againſt that prince, VIII. 56. Philip cauſes him to be put to death, 62
Pul, king of the Aſſyrians, who does penance upon the preaching of Jonah, II. 199
Pulcher (P. Claudius) conſul, is beaten at ſea by Adherbal the Carthaginian general, II. 21
Punic: Origin and ſignification of that word, I. 270. Punic wars, II. 2, 38, 130
Pydna, city of Macedonia, is ſubjected by Philip, V. 256. famous victory gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perſeus, near that city, IX. 70
Pylus, a ſmall city of Meſſenia, taken by the Athenians during the Peloponneſian war, III. 407
Pyramid. Deſcription of the pyramids of Egypt, I. 172. judgement to be formed of thoſe famous ſtructures, 175
Pyrrhias, general of the Ætolians, is twice beaten by Philip, VIII. 79
Pyrrhus, ſon of Æacides king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the revolted, VII. 154. he is re-eſtabliſhed upon the throne of Epirus by Glaucias king of Illyrium, *ibid.* the Moloſſians revolt againſt him, and plunder all his riches, *ibid.* he retires to Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, *ibid.* he diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the battle of Ipſus, *ibid.* he goes to Egypt as an hoſtage for Demetirius, 155. he marries Antigone, daughter of Berenice, *ibid.* Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes uſe for re-poſſeſſing himſelf of his dominions, *ibid.* Pyrrhus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 161. he divides that kingdom with Lyſimachus, 164. he is ſoon obliged to quit it, 165. the

Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid againſt the Romans, 211. that prince goes to Italy, 216. he defeats the conſul Levinus, 219. he cauſes propoſals of peace to be made to the Romans, 220. converſation of Pyrrhus with Fabricius, 223. Pyrrhus gains a ſecond advantage over the Romans, 231. expeditions of Pyrrhus in Sicily, 232. he returns into Italy, 235. he plunders the temple of Proſerpine in the country of the Locrians, 236. he is defeated by the Romans, 237. he returns into Epirus, 238. he throws himſelf into Macedonia, and makes himſelf maſter of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, *ibid.* expedition of Pyrrhus into Peloponneſus, 241. he beſieges Sparta ineffectually *ibid.* he is killed at the ſiege of Argos, 249. good and bad characters of Pyrrhus, 250, &c.

Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, commands part of the fleet of Cyrus the Younger, in the expedition of that prince againſt his brother Artaxerxes, IV. 168

Pythagoras, ſon of Evagoras, defends the city of Salamin beſieged by Artaxerxes, during his father's abſence, IV. 259

Pythagoras, philoſopher, III. 358, he goes to Italy and ſettles at Crotona, where he opens a ſchool of philoſophy, *ibid.* noviciate of ſilence which he made his diſciples obſerve, 359

Pytharchus of Cyzicum gains the favour of Cyrus, who gives him the revenues of ſeven cities for a penſion, II. 397

Pytheas, magiſtrate of the Bœotians, induces them to unite their forces againſt the Romans, IX. Metellus puts him to death, 138

Pytheas, famous aſtronomer and geographer, IX. 126

Pythia, name of the prieſteſs of Apollo at Delphi, I. 53.

Pythian, celebrated games of Greece, I. 62

Pythias, friend of Damon; trial to which their friendſhip was put, V. 49

Pythius, Lydian prince, generous offer which he makes Xerxes of his riches, III. 181. means which the princeſs his wife uſes to make him ſenſible of the injuſtice and ridicule of his conduct, *ibid.* cruelty which Pythius experiences from Xerxes, 182

Pythodorus, ſent by the Athenians to the aid of the Leontines, is baniſhed for not having undertaken the conqueſt of Sicily, IV. 28

Python of Byzantium, famous rhetorician, is deputed by Philip to the Thebans to incline them to peace, V. 316

Q.

Quoit. See Diſcus.

R.

Rabirius Posthumus, Roman knight, goes to Ptolemy Auletes, in order to be paid the ſums he had lent that prince at Rome, X. 174. perfidy of Ptolemy in reſpect to him, *ibid.* Rabirius is accuſed at Rome of having aſſiſted Ptolemy in corrupting the ſenate, 175. Cicero takes his defence upon him, *ibid.*

Race. See Courſe.

Ragau, name of the plain where Nabuchodonoſor conquered Phraortes, II. 228

Rameſes Miamun, king of Egypt, I. 234. he makes the Iſraelites ſuffer infinite hardſhips, *ibid.*

Rammius, citizen of Brunduſium, is ordered by Perſeus to poiſon Eumenes,

Eumenes, IX. 11. he goes to Valerius at Chalcis, discovers the whole to him, and follows him to Rome, *ibid.*
Raphia, city of Palestine, near which Antiochus the Great was defeated by Ptolemy Philopator, VIII. 19
Reading of history especially: of what use it is to a prince, VI. 7. delicacy of the Lacedæmonians in respect to the books that youth were to be suffered to read, III. 76
Regillus (L. Æmilius) is charged with the command of the Roman fleet in the room of Livius, VIII. 247. he gains a complete victory over Polyxenides Antiochus's admiral, 252. he receives the honour of a triumph, 277
Regulus (M. Attilius) consul, gains a great victory over the Carthaginians with his fleet, II. 7. he goes to Africa, *ibid.* the Romans continue him in the command as proconsul, 8. he defeats the Carthaginians, and seises Tunis, 9. he suffers himself to be dazzled by his glorious successes, 10. he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, 13. the Carthaginians send him to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners, 16. at his return they put him to a cruel death, 17
Religion. Origin and source of the religion of the ancients, I. 30. attention of the ancients, in discharging all the duties of religion, II. 425. the veil of religion often serves to cover the most criminal designs, and the most unjust enterprises, IV. 8
Reomithras, one of the chiefs of the revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, delivers up the principal rebels to that prince, to make his own peace, and keeps the money which he had brought from Egypt for the confederacy, V. 195
Resurrection of the body. Confused notion which the ancients had of the resurrection of the body, IV. 127
Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, IV. 192, &c.
Rhadamanthus, brother of Minos, is appointed by that prince to administer justice in his capital city, IV. 350
Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt, I. 244
Rhegium, city of Sicily, forms a league against Dionysius, V. 18. it makes peace with that tyrant, *ibid.* its refusal to give him a wife, and the insolent answer with which that refusal is attended, 21. Dionysius besieges it out of revenge, 35. miserable fate of that city, *ibid.* a Roman legion by the aid of the Mamertines comes and settles there, after having expelled the inhabitants, II. 2. the Romans re-establish the inhabitants, 3
Rhisiases, Achæan, obliges his son Memnon, who was chief magistrate, by menaces not to oppose the treaty with the Romans, VIII. 163
Rhodes, island and city of Asia Minor, I. 28. Rhodes takes arms against Athens, V. 204. it is declared free, 211. it is subjected by Mausolus, king of Caria, 215. the Rhodians undertake to dethrone Artemisa widow of that prince, 217. that princess takes their city, *ibid.* the death of Artemisa re-instates their liberty, 219. the Rhodians refuse to aid Antigonus against Ptolemy, VII. 120. Demetrius besieges their city, *ibid.* he raises the siege a year after by a peace

a peace very honourable for the Rhodians, 134. he makes them a present of all the machines of war, which he had employed in that siege, 135. the Rhodians erect the famous Colossus, with the money raised by the sale of those machines, *ibid.* their impious flattery of Ptolemy to express their gratitude for the aid he had given them during that siege, *ibid.* great earthquake at Rhodes, 362. emulation of the neighbouring princes in consoling that afflicted city, 363. destruction of the famous Colossus, 362. war between the Rhodians and Byzantines, and the causes of it, VIII. 13. peace is restored between the two people, *ib.* war between the Rhodians and Philip, 129. they defeat Hannibal at sea, 250. dispute between the Rhodians and Eumenes before the Romans, concerning the Grecian cities of Asia, 267. the Rhodians signalize their zeal for Rome in the war with Perseus, IX. 19. they send ambassadors to Rome, and to the Roman army in Macedonia, who speak there in favour of Perseus with extraordinary insolence, 48. they send deputies to Rome, who endeavour to appease the anger of the senate, 101. after long and warm solicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people, 106

Rhodogune, daughter of Mithridates king of the Parthians, is married to Demetrius king of Syria, IX. 199

Rhone, river. Passage of the Rhone by Hannibal, II. 49

Rhyme. See Rythmus.

Richlieu (Cardinal) composed dramitic poems, and piqued himself upon excelling that way, V. 39

Riches, contempt which the ancient Scythians had for riches, III. 114

Romans. First treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, I. 309. the Romans send deputies to inquire into the laws of the cities of Greece, III. 268. second treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, I. 323. war between the Romans and Pyrrhus, VII. 211. they are defeated in two battles by that prince, 219. they gain a great victory over Pyrrhus, and oblige him to quit Italy, 237. they punish their citizens who had settled in Rhegium, II. 2. they send ambassadors to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and make an alliance with that prince, VII. 252. they aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians, II. 3. they form the design of fitting out a fleet for the first time, 5. they beat the Carthaginians, first near the coast of Myle, and afterwards near Ecnoma, 6. they go to Africa, 7. they are at first victorious, and afterwards defeated, 8. they defeat the Carthaginian fleet in sight of Sicily, 18. they go to Sicily, and form the siege of Lilybæum, 19. they are defeated at sea, 21. they gain a great victory over the Carthaginians, to whom they grant peace, 24.

The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians, II. 37. they drive Teuta out of Illyrium, VII. 306. they send a solemn embassy into Greece to notify their treaty with the Illyrians, 307. the Corinthians admit them to the Isthmian games, and the Athenians grant them the freedom of their city, *ibid.* the Romans drive Demetrius of Pharos out of Illyrium, VIII. 38. they send ambassadors to demand him of Philip, who refuses

fuſes to deliver him up, *ibid.* they declare war againſt the Carthaginians, II. 46. they are defeated near the Ticinus, 60. near Trebia, 62. and the lake of Thraſymene, 68. they make ſeveral conqueſts in Spain, 74. they loſe a great battle near Cannæ, 75. Hannibal beſieges Rome, 86. the Romans are defeated in Spain, 89. they gain a great battle over Aſdrubal, 90. they go to Africa, 94. they defeat the Carthaginians near Zama, oblige them to demand peace, and grant it them, 100

The Romans ſend deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra to renew their ancient alliance with Egypt, VIII. 25. they gain an advantage over Philip at Apollonia, 70. they break with Hieronymus, X. 27. upon the news of that prince's death they ſend Marcellus into Sicily, 29. that general takes Syracuſe, 54. alliance of the Romans with the Ætolians, VIII. 75. the Romans ſend Sulpitius to the aid of the Ætolians againſt Philip, 79. various expeditions of that prætor in Macedonia, 80, 81. general peace between the Romans and Philip, in which the allies on both ſides are included, 118. the Romans accept the guardianſhip of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 136. they declare war againſt Philip, 138. they defeat that prince in a battle, 147. they employ their credit with Antiochus to induce him not to make war with Attalus, 151. expeditions of the Romans in Phocis, 158. they make a treaty with Nabis, 168. they gain a famous victory over Philp near Scotuſſa and Cynoſcephale, 176. they grant that prince peace, 182. they re-inſtate Greece in its ancient liberty, 184

The Romans ſend an embaſſy to Antiochus, VIII. 190. it tends only to diſpoſe both ſides to an open rupture, 191. they make war againſt Nabis, 196. they oblige him to demand peace, and grant it to him, 203. preparations on all ſides for a war between the Romans and Antiochus, 208. mutual embaſſies on both ſides without effect, *ibid.* the Romans ſend troops againſt Nabis, who had broken the treaty, 217. they declare war againſt Antiochus, 235. they gain an advantage over that prince at Thermopylæ, 238. they defeat Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, on two occaſions, 252. they go to Aſia, and gain a great victory over Antiochus near Magneſia, 263. they grant him peace, 265. they reduce the Ætolians, and grant them peace, 283. they ſubject the Gauls of Aſia, 290, &c. complaints againſt Philip carried to Rome, 308. the Romans ſend commiſſaries to examine into thoſe complaints, and to take cognizance of the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans, *ibid.* new complaints carried to Rome againſt Philip, 336. the Romans ſend back his ſon Demetrius with ambaſſadors, 338

The Romans ſend ambaſſadors into Macedonia, to have an eye upon the conduct of Perſeus, IX. 3. they break with that prince, 13. the war is declared in form, 22. the Romans are worſted near the river of Peneus, 30. the ſenate makes a wiſe decree to put a ſtop to the avarice of the generals and magiſtrates, who oppreſſed the allies, 39. the Romans penetrate into Macedonia, 43, &c. they conquer Gentius, king of Illyrium, 64. they gain a great victory over Perſeus near the city of Pydna, 76. that prince is

is taken with his children, 82. decree of the ſenate, which grants liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians, 85. the Romans oblige Antiochus Epiphanes to quit Egypt, and to leave the two reigning brothers in peace, VIII. 394. their cruel treatment of the Ætolians, 106. all in general who have favoured Perſeus are cited to Rome, to anſwer for their conduct there, 108. a thouſand Achæans carried thither, 110. the ſenate baniſhes them into ſeveral towns of Italy, 111. after ſeventeen years of baniſhment, they are ſent back into their own country, 112. they refuſe Eumenes entrance into Rome, 115. the Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between Philometor and Phyſcon, 173. one of their ambaſſadors is killed in Syria, 177

The Romans declare the Jews their friends and allies, IX. 180. they acknowledge Demetrius king of Syria, 181. they conquer the Ligurians, and give their territory to the Marſeillians, 122. they defeat Andriſcus, and two more adventurers, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Macedonia, and reduce that kingdom into a Roman province, 129, &c. they declare war againſt the Carthaginians, II. 134. they order them to abandon Carthage, 136. they beſiege that city, and demoliſh it entirely, 139, &c. decree of the ſenate for ſeparating ſeveral cities from the Achæan league, IX. 133, &c. troubles in Achaia, 136. the Romans defeat the Achæans, and take Thebes, 137, 138. they gain another victory over the Achæans, take Corinth, and burn it, 139. they reduce Greece into a Roman province, 141. they renew the treaties made with the Jews, 197. they inherit the riches and dominions of Attalus, king of Pergamus, 209. they reduce Ariſtonicus, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of them, *ibid.* Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, leave the Romans their dominions at their deaths, 239, &c. the Romans reduce thoſe kingdoms into Roman provinces, *ibid.*

The Romans re-eſtabliſh the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, expelled by Mithridates, X. 73. maſſacre of all the Romans and Italians in Aſia Minor, 79. the Romans gain three great battles againſt the generals of Mithridates, 88, 92, 93. they grant that prince peace, 97. ſecond war of the Romans with Mithridates, 101. they are defeated by that prince in a battle, 107. they gain a great victory over him, and reduce him to retire into Armenia to Tigranes, his ſon-in-law, 114. 121. they declare war againſt Tigranes, and defeat him in a battle, 125. 127. ſecond victory of the Romans over the united forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 134. they again gain ſeveral victories over Mithridates, who had recovered his dominions, 146. they ſubject Tigranes, king of Armenia, 147. they drive Antiochus Aſiaticus out of Syria, and reduce that kingdom into a Roman province, 153

The Romans are declared heirs of his dominions by the will of Alexander, king of Egypt, IX. 254. and of the war with Mithridates, X. 160. the Romans drive Ptolemy out of Cyprus, and confiſcate his treaſures,

-fures, IX. 259. they invade Parthia, and are defeated, 288. &c. they declare Ptolemy Auletes their friend and ally, X. 164. they reduce Egypt into a Roman province, 223. Cappadocia is alſo reduced into a Roman province, IX. 334. reflection upon the conduct of the Romans in reſpect to the ſtates of Greece, and the kings both of Europe and Aſia, VIII. 278. difference between the Romans and the Greeks, IX. 149. Roman haughtineſs, VIII. 394. ſetting out of the conſul and army, IX. 22. difference of taſte of the Romans and Greeks in reſpect to ſhows, I. 87

Roſaces, governor of Lydia and Ionia, commands a detachment of Ochus's army in that prince's expedition againſt Egypt, V. 224

Roſaces, Perſian lord, gives proofs of his valour at the battle of the Granicus, VI. 30

Rowers. Condition of them among the ancients, IV. 395

Roxana, ſiſter of Statira, queen of Perſia. Tragical hiſtory of that princeſs, IV. 147

Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, wife of Alexander, VI. 206 ſhe is delivered of a ſon ſoon after Alexander's death, VII. 5. ſhe cauſes Statira, Alexander's widow, as well as herſelf, to be put to death with Drypætis, Hephæſtion's widow, 7. Caſſander deprives her of all the honours of a queen, and ſoon after puts her to death, 67, &c.

Roxana, ſiſter of Mithridates, X. 113. deplorable end of that princeſs, 114

S.

Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, enters Egypt, and conquers it, I. 248. at the expiration of fifty years he retires voluntarily into Ethiopia, *ibid.*

Sabæan, ſect of idolaters in the Eaſt, II. 429

Sabracæ, powerful people of India, ſubjected by Alexander, VI. 251

Sacæ, people of Aſſyria, ſubjected by Cyrus, II. 280

Sadducees, a powerful ſect among the Jews; ſome account of them, IX. 232

Sadyattes, king of Lydia, II. 237. he beſieges Miletus, *ibid.*

Sages. Abridgement of the lives of the ſeven ſages of Greece, III. 81

Saguntum, city of Spain, beſieged and taken by Hannibal, II. 45

Sais, city of the Lower Egypt, I. 189.

Salamin, capital city of the iſland of Cyprus, IV. 255

Salamin, iſle of Greece, famous for the battle at ſea between Xerxes and the Greeks, III. 212.

Salmanaſar, king of Nineveh, II. 204. he conquers Hoſea king of Samaria, loads him with chains, and deſtroys the kingdom of Iſrael, 205. death of Salmanaſar, *ibid.*

Salome, wife of Ariſtobulus I. takes the three princes, her huſband's brothers, out of priſon, IX. 264.

Samaria, city of Paleſtine, the capital of the kingdom of Iſrael, I. 29. origin of the enmity between the Samaritans and Jews, II. 209. the Samaritans oppoſe the Jews at the time they are rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem, 336. they ſubmit to Alexander, VI. 97. they cannot obtain the ſame privileges of that prince as the Jews, 108. they mutiny, 117. Alexander drives them out of Samaria, *ibid.* they conform to the religion of Antiochus

Antiochus Epiphanes, VIII. 397. deſtruction of Samaria by Hyrcanus, IX. 231
Sambucæ, machine of war of the ancients, X. 41
Samos, iſland and city of Ionia, III. 5. Samos taken and deſtroyed by the Athenians, 328. Lyſander re-eſtabliſhes the ancient inhabitants in it, IV. 141. impious flattery of that Lacedæmonian by the Samians, 161
Samothracia, iſland of the Archipelago conſidered as ſacred and inviolable, IX. 80
Sandrocotta, Indian, poſſeſſes himſelf of all the provinces of India, which Alexander had conquered, VII. 140. Seleucus undertakes to drive him out of them, *ibid.* thoſe two princes come to an accommodation, *ibid.*
Sangala, city of India, taken and entirely demoliſhed by Alexander, VI. 234
Saoſduchin, king of Babylon. See Nabuchadonoſor I.
Sappho of Mitylene, ſurnamed the the tenth Muſe, III. 80
Saracus, king of Aſſyria, II. 210. revolt of Nabopolaſſar againſt that prince, *ibid.* death of Saracus, 232
Sardanapalus, king of Aſſyria, II. 200. his effeminacy, *ibid.* his death, 201
Sardinia, iſland of Europe in the Mediterranean, ſubjected by the Carthaginians, I. 303
Sardis, a city of Lydia, ſubjected by Cyrus, II. 300. it is taken and burnt by Ariſtagoras and the Athenians, III. 138
Satrapæ, name given the governors of provinces amongſt the Perſians, II. 385
Saturn. Pagan divinity, I. 273
Satyr, ſort of poem, I. 95
Sayd, the ancient Thebais of Egypt, I. 168.
Scamma, name given the place where the Athletæ combated, I. 75
Scarpus, general of Antony's army in Libya, declares for Cæſar, X. 210
Scaurus, Pompey's lieutenant, reduces Syria and Damaſcus, X. 152
Scaurus (Æmilius) is deputed by the Romans to Jugurtha, II. 169. he ſuffers himſelf to be corrupted by that prince, *ibid.*
Scene, or Stage, part of the theatre of the ancients, I. 95
Scerdilides, king of Illyrium, exerciſes a kind of piracy at the expence of all his neighbours, VII. 306. he joins the Achæans againſt the Ætolians, VIII. 38. he makes an alliance with the Romans, 77
Sciences. See Arts.
Scipio (Publius) marches into Spain againſt Hannibal, II. 51. he paſſes the Po, and is defeated near the Ticinus, 58. he is ſent into Spain, and joins his brother Cn. Scipio there, 74. they make a great progreſs there, 86. they divide their troops, 89. Publius is killed in a battle, *ibid.*
Scipio (Cneus) is ſent by his brother into Spain to make head againſt Aſdrubal, II. 53. the two brothers join each other, and have great ſucceſs, 74. Cneus is killed in a battle, 89
Scipio (P. Cornelius) ſurnamed Africanus, makes himſelf maſter of all Spain, II. 94. he is elected conſul, and goes to Africa, *ibid.* he has an interview with Hannibal, and gains a great victory over that general, 98. &c. he grants the Carthaginians peace, 101. converſation between Scipio and Hannibal at Epheſus, 113.

Scipio ſerves as lieutenant to his brother L. Cornelius Scipio in the war with Antiochus, VIII. 247. he rejects the offers of Antiochus, 258. Scipio's death, II. 118
Scipio (L. Cornelius) ſurnamed Aſiaticus, is charged with the war againſt Antiochus, VIII. 247. he goes to Aſia, 255, he gains a famous victory over Antiochus, near Magneſia, 262. he triumphs, 277
Scipio Naſica, ſon-in-law of Scipio Africanus, is charged with an important expedition by Paulus Æmilius, which he executes highly for his honour, IX. 68. he is ſent into Macedonia, to appeaſe the troubles excited by Andriſcus, 130
Scipio (Publius) ſurnamed Africanus the Younger, diſtinguiſhes himſelf in the war with Carthage, II. 140. he returns to Rome to demand the office of edile, 142. the people give him the conſulſhip, *ibid.* Scipio goes to Africa, and advances againſt Carthage, *ibid.* he takes that city and demoliſhes it, 150. he is ſent ambaſſador into Egypt, Syria, and Greece, IX. 204. uſe which he makes of the preſents ſent him by Antiochus Sidetes, 214. character and praiſe of Scipio, II. 156. his intimate friendſhip with Polybius, 571
Sciſmas, eldeſt ſon of Datames, becomes his accuſer to Artaxerxes, IV. 273
Scopas is placed at the head of the troops in Ætolia in the war againſt the Achæans, VIII. 31. he ravages Macedonia, 39. he prevails upon the Ætolians to make an alliance with the Romans, 76. he goes into the ſervice of Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt, 153. he poſſeſſes himſelf of Judæa, *ibid.* he is defeated by Antiochus, and obliged to accept ignominious conditions, *ibid.* 154. he conſpires againſt Ptolemy, and is put to death, 123
Scorpion, machine of war, X. 42
Scylax, Greek of Cariandia, is commiſſioned by Darius to diſcover India, III. 131. he acquits himſelf happily of that commiſſion, *ibid.*
Scylurus, king of the Scythians. In what manner he recommended unity to his children, III. 116
Scytale, uſed among the Lacedæmonians. What it was, III. 36
Scythians. They poſſeſs themſelves of Upper Aſia, II. 230. they are driven out of it at the end of twenty-eight years, *ibid.* Darius deſigns to puniſh them for that eruption, III. 320. the Scythians refuſe to ſubmit, 125. they ſend a herald to Darius with preſents, 126. they ravage Thrace, 131. they ſend ambaſſadors to Alexander, who ſpeak to him with extraordinary freedom, VI. 187. they are defeated and ſubjected by that prince, 191. they make war with Phraates to revenge his injuſtice, defeat him a battle, and ravage his kingdom, IX. 217. manners of the Scythians according to Herodotus, III. 112. manners and character of the ancient Scythians according to Juſtin, 113. in what time luxury got ground amongſt them, 119
Scythopolis, city of the tribe of Manaſſeh, II. 230
Sea. Red Sea. The paſſage of the Red Sea, manifeſtly meant by a paſſage in Diodorus Siculus, I. 235

Sects of Idolaters in the East, II. 428. different sects of Philosophers. See Philosophers.
Segesta, city of Sicily, puts itself under the protection of the Carthaginians. I. 312
Selasia, city of Peloponnesus, famous for the battle between Antigonus and Cleomenes, VII. 352
Selene, daughter of Ptolemy, Physcon and Cleopatra, is compelled by her mother to marry her brother Lathyrus, IX. 226. Cleopatra makes her quit Lathyrus, and gives her in marriage to Antiochus Grypus, 238. Selena after the death of Grypus, marries Antiochus Eusebes, 240. Eusebes having been driven out of his dominions, she keeps possession of Ptolemais with part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and reigns there many years, 243. she conceives hopes of ascending the throne of Egypt, 245. she sends her two sons to Rome with that view, *ibid.*
Seleucia, city of Syria, built by Seleucus Nicator, VII. 150
Seleucia, city situated upon the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator, VII. 159
Seleucides. Famous æra of the Seleucides, VII. 93. end of the empire of the Seleucides in Asia, X. 153
Seleucus Nicator is placed at the head of all the cavalry of the allies after the death of Alexander, VII. 6. he is settled by Antipater in the government of Babylon, 38. he joins Antigonus and Ptolemy against Eumenes, 61. he escapes from Babylon and retires into Egypt, 83. he forms a league with Ptolemy Lysimachus, and Cassander, against Antigonus, 84. he makes himself master of Babylon, 92. he assumes the title of king, 115. he strengthens himself upon the throne of Syria, *ibid.* he makes an expedition into India, 140. league between Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 144. Seleucus commands the army of the confederates, and gains a famous victory near Ipsus, 145. the four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great, amongst them, 147. Seleucus builds several cities, 150. he makes an alliance with Demetrius, 151. he quarrels with him, and takes Cicilia from him, *ibid.* he builds Seleucia, 159. he forms a league with Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus, against Demetrius, 161. he gets that prince's person into his hands, 168. he gives his wife and part of his dominions to his son Antiochus, 193. he makes war against Lysimachus, defeats him in battle, and possesses himself of all his dominions, 196. he is assassinated by Ceraunus whom he had laden with favours, 197. character of Seleucus, *ibid.*
Seleucus Callinicus ascends the throne of Syria after his father Antiochus Theos poisoned by Laodice, VII. 275. he endeavours to retake what Ptolemy had conquered from him, and is unsuccessful on several occasions, 279. he unites with his brother Hierax, against Ptolemy, 281. war between the two brothers, 282. Seleucus marches against Arsaces, 286. he is taken prisoner, *ibid.* death of Seleucus, 289
Seleucus Ceraunus succeeds his father Seleucus Callinicus, VIII. 2. he is poisoned by two of his principal officers, *ibid.*
Seleucus Philopator is left by his father Antiochus the Great,

Great to govern Syria during his abſence, VIII. 295. he aſcends the throne of Syria, 302. he ſends Heliodorus to Jeruſalem to bring away its treaſures, 371. Heliodorus cauſes him to poiſoned, 375

Seleucus, the ſon of Demetrius Nicator cauſes himſelf to be declared king of Syria, IX. 222. his mother Cleopatra kills him with her own hands, 323

Seleucus, eldeſt ſon of Antiochus Grypus king of Syria, ſucceeds him, IX. 238. he ſupports himſelf againſt Antiochus the Cyzicenian, 239

Seleucus Cybioſactes, ſon of Antiochus Euſebes and Selena, goes to Rome to ſolicit the ſenate for his mother, IX. 245. he accepts the crown of Egypt and Berenice, X. 172. he renders himſelf odious by his baſe inclination, *ibid.* Berenice cauſes him to be put to beath, *ibid.*

Seleucus, governor of Peluſium for Cleopatra, delivers up that city to Cæſar by order of that queen, X. 213

Selinonta, city of Sicily, IV. 31. deſtruction of that city by Hannibal, I. 312

Semiramis, queen of Aſſyria: Her birth, II. 184. ſhe marries Ninus, *ibid.* manner in which ſhe aſcends the throne, *ibid.* ſhe viſits all the parts of her empire, 193. her authority over her people, *ibid.* her conqueſts, *ibid.* ſhe puts the government into her ſon's hands and retires from the ſight of mankind, 196. difference between Semiramis and Sardanapalus, 201

Sempronius, conſul, is defeated by Hannibal near Trebia, II. 66

Senate. Carthaginian ſenate, I. 279. ſenate of Sparta, III. 23. ſenate of Athens, IV. 362. ſenate of Rome deſcribed by Cineas, VII. 221

Sennacherib, king of Nineveh, declares war againſt Hezekiah, and reduces Jeruſalem to extremities, II. 205. he writes to Hezekiah, a letter full of blaſphemies againſt the God of Iſrael, and marches againſt the king of Egypt, whoſe dominions he ravages, 206. he returns againſt Jeruſalem, 207. his army is deſtroyed by an angel, *ibid.* he is murdered by his own children, 208

Septimius, Roman officer in the ſervice of Ptolemy king of Egypt, aſſaſſinates Pompey, X. 177

Septuagint, ſome account of it, VII. 207, &c.

Serapis, divinity adorned in Egypt, VII. 172. his image is brought from Pontus to Alexandria, *ibid.*

Seron, general of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Maccabæus and killed in the battle, VIII. 407

Sertorius, Roman general, makes a treaty with Mithridates, X. 104

Servilius ſerves in the Roman army in quality of proconſul, II. 76. he is killed in the battle of Cannæ, 79

Seſac, or Seſonchis, king of Egypt, I. 246. he marches againſt Jeruſalem and carries away all its treaſures, 247, &c.

Seſoſtris, king of Egypt, his education, I. 236. his conqueſts, 237. his works beneficial to Egypt, 239. his blind fondneſs for his own grandeur, 240. his death, *ibid.*

Sethon, king of Egypt, cauſes himſelf to be conſecrated high prieſt of Vulcan, and abandons himſelf entirely to ſuperſtition, I. 248. miraculous manner in which

which Herodotus relates, that he was delivered from Sennacherib's irruption into his dominions, 249, &c. death of Sethon, *ibid.*
Sethosis. See Sesostris.
Seuthes, prince of Thrace, is reestablished in his father's dominions by Xenophon, IV. 204. perfidy of that prince to Xenophon and his troops, *ibid.*
Shepherds. They were in great consideration in Egypt, I. 217. and in India, VI. 214
Shinar, plain where Babylon was built, II. 181
Ship, galley, vessel. Ship-building of the ancients, IV. 392, &c. fitting out of the fleets of Athens, V. 237. ship of enormous magnitude built by Ptolemy Philopater, VII. 160
Shows. Difference of taste between the Greeks and Romans in respect to shows, I. 87. their passion for shows one of the principal cause of the decline, degeneracy, and corruption of Athens, 92
Sibotis. Island over against Corcyra, famous for the battle between the people of Corcyra and the Corinthians, III. 330
Sitanians, people of Spain; they come to settle in Sicily, IV. 30
Sicily, island of the Mediterranean: Description of it, I. 308. different people that inhabited it, IV. 30
Sicyon, city of Peloponnesus: Its kings, III. 10. it is delivered from tyranny, and united to the Achæan league by Aratus, VII. 293. Sicyon was long in great reputation for arts and sciences, 296
Sidon, city of Phœnicia, I. 29. despair of the Sidonians when they see Ochus master of their city, V. 222. they submit to Alexander, VI. 70
Sieges. Famous sieges of antiquity; of Carthage by the Romans, II. 143, &c. of Babylon by Cyrus, II. 315. of the same city by Darius, III. 107. of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians, 390. of Syracuse by the Athenians, IV. 52. of the same city by Marcellus, X. 39. of Tyre by Alexander, VI. 75. of Rhodes by Demetrius, VII. 120. of Athens by Sylla, X. 80
Signals by fire. Manner of making signals by fire, VII. 95
Simon, surnamed the Just, succeeds his father Onias in the high-priesthood of the Jews, VII. 149. his death, 160
Simon, son of Mattathias, VIII. 399. he is chosen general in the room of his brother Jonathan, and marches against Tryphon, IX. 196. he is made high-priest and prince of Judæa, 197. he renews the ancient treaties with the Romans, *ibid.* death of Simon, 212
Simon, Jew, has the guard of the temple given him: His treachery, VIII. 372
Simonides, Greek poet; his answer to Hiero, who asked him what God was, III. 79. Simonides preserved by the Gods, I. 86
Sinatrocces, king of the Parthians, IX. 287
Sinope, city of Pontus. Lucullus gives it liberty, X. 120
Sisyphus, son Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth, III. 15
Sitalces, king of the Odrysians in Thrace, makes an alliance with the Athenians, III. 378
Slavery. Slaves. Slavery incompatible with the study of philosophy, III. 358. the highest price that can be paid for it, cannot

cannot reconcile free men to it, VI. 170. what happens to such as have once submitted to a state of servitude, VIII. 373

Smerdis, or Tanaoxares, son of Cyrus, is made governor of several provinces by his father Cyrus, II. 343. Cambyses causes him to be put to death, 362

Smerdis the Magus passes for the son of Cyrus, and ascends the throne of Persia, II. 368, &c. his imposture is discovered, 369. he is killed by the conspirators, 371

Smerdones, one of the six generals of Xerxes' army in that prince's expedition against Greece, III. 189

Smyrna, city of Æolis, III. 17

Sobriety. Excellent lesson upon sobriety, II. 253

Socrates, prince of the philosophers; his birth, IV. 277. he applies at first to sculpture, *ibid.* then to the study of the sciences, *ibid.* his wonderful progress in them, *ibid.* his taste for moral philosophy, 278. his character *ibid.* his employments, 279. his sufferings from the ill temper of his wife, 281. Dæmon or familiar spirit of Socrates, 283. the Delphick oracle declares him the wisest of mankind, 286. Socrates distinguishes himself at the battle of Potidæa, and at that of Delium, III. 31. his intimacy with Alcibiades, IV. 17. he devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the Athenian youth, 217. attachment of his disciples to him, 290. admirable principles which he gives them upon government and religion, 291, &c. he industriously applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the Athenian youth, 297. what we are to understand by the ironical manner ascribed to him, 298. Socrates is accused of holding bad opinions concerning the gods, and of corrupting the youth of Athens, 299, &c. he defends himself without art or meanness, 307. he is condemned to die, 312. he refuses to escape out of prison, 314. he passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul, 319, &c. he drinks the hemlock, 325. punishment of his accusers, 327. honours rendered to his memory by the Athenians, *ibid.* reflections upon the sentence passed on Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himself, *ibid.* relation between the death of Socrates and that of the governor of Tigranes, II. 267

Socrates of Achaia commands a body of Greek troops in the expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes, IV. 168. he is seised by treachery, and put to death, 180

Socrates, son of Nicomedes, dethrones his brother Nicomedes king of Bithynia, X. 73

Sogdiana, province of Upper Asia, I. 27. Alexander makes himself master of it, VI. 184. it revolts against that prince, *ibid.* great courage of thirty young Sogdian prisoners condemned to die by Alexander, 193

Sogdianus, natural son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, kills Xerxes II. and ascends the throne of Persia in his stead, IV. 1. he puts Bagorazus, one of his father's eunuchs to death, 2. he is dethroned by Ochus, who causes him to stifled in ashes, *ibid.*

Solar year. At what time it began to be used, I. 216

Soldiers. Employment and exercises of the soldiers in their camp, IX. 65
Solon, one of the seven sages of Greece, is elected archon and legislator by the Athenians, III. 49. government which he institutes at Athens, *ibid.* &c. laws which he gives the Athenians, 56. travels of Solon into Egypt and Lydia, II. 239. his conduct at the court of Crœsus, *ibid.* conversation of Solon with Thales upon marriage, III. 50. at his return to Athens he finds every thing changed, 60. he endeavours to make Pisistratus abdicate the tyranny in vain, 63. death of Solon, *ibid.*
Solsius, Lacedæmonian, præceptor to Hannibal, II. 121. he accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that great captain, *ibid.*
Soothsayers. Reflection upon the events of some of their predictions, VI. 282
Sophists. Definition of the sophists, IV. 297
Sophocles, one of the Athenian generals, is banished for not having attempted the conquest of Sicily, IV. 28
Sophocles, tragic poet: he disputes the prize with Æschylus, and carries it against him, I. 99. his death, *ibid.* tragedies of his come down to us, 100. in what manner he defended himself in a very advanced age against the ingratitude of his children, *ibid.* character of Sophocles, 101
Sophonisba, Asdrubal's daughter, is married to Syphax, II. 124. Masiniſſa having conquered Syphax, marries Sophonisba, and to save her from falling into the hands of the Romans is reduced to send her poison, *ibid.*
Sophrosyne, daughter of Dionysius the Elder, is married to her brother, Dionysius the Younger, V. 46
Sornatius, one of Lucullus's officers, commands in Pontus during the absence of that general, X. 120
Sosibes, Ptolemy Philopator's minister, causes Arsinoe, the king's sister and wife, to be murdered, VIII. 27. he is obliged to quit his employment, *ibid.* he prevents that prince from aiding Cleomenes, and advises him to seize his person, 34
Sosibes, son of the former, has the care of the person of the young king Ptolemy Epiphanes, VIII. 127
Sosis, one of the chief conspirators against Hieronymus, seises part of the quarter Achradina, and exhorts the Syracusans to recover their liberty, X. 29. he is chosen one of the principal magistrates, 31. he commands the troops sent to the aid of Marcellus, 38
Sosius (Caius) consul, declares for Anthony, and goes to him, X. 205
Sosthenes, Macedonian, drives the Gauls out of Macedonia, and reigns there during some time, VII. 201. he is overpowered by the great number of Brennus's troops, 203
Sostratus, architect, builds the tower of Pharos, VII. 171. deceit which he uses for engrossing the whole honour of that work to himself, I. 193
Sostratus, or Sesistratus, governor of Syracuse, delivers up that city to Pyrrhus, VII. 233. Pyrrhus, to make him amends, is for putting him to death, 235
Soul. Discourse of Socrates before his death upon the immortality of the soul, IV. 321

Sous, king of Sparta, with his colleague Agis, takes the city of Elos, I. 136
Spain. Deſcription of Spain, I. 305. mines of gold and ſilver, 286. the Carthaginians make themſelves maſters of part of Spain, 306. it is entirely conquered by the Romans, II. 94.
Sparta. See Lacedæmon.
Spendius of Capua, in concert with Matho, cauſes the mercenaries to revolt againſt the Carthaginans, II. 29. he is placed at their head, *ibid.* he put Giſgo to death, 32. he treats with the Carthaginians, 33. he is ſeiſed and hanged, *ibid.*
Speuſippus, philoſopher, Plato's nephew, his intimacy with Dion, V. 69
Sphacteria, ſmall iſland over-againſt Pylos, III. 407
Spherus, philoſopher, aſſiſts Cleomenes in re-inſtating the ancient diſcipline in Sparta, VII. 335
Sphodrias, Lacedæmonian, who commanded in Theſpiæ, forms a fruitleſs enterpriſe againſt the Piræeus, V. 132. he is acquitted for that attempt by the credit of Ageſilaus, 134
Spirit. Familiar ſpirit of Socrates, IV. 283
Spitamenes, confidant of Beſſus, forms a conſpiracy againſt him, and delivers him up to Alexander, VI. 181. he raiſes Bactriana againſt that prince, 185. his wife not being able to perſuade him to ſurrender himſelf to Alexander, kills him in the night, 205
Spithridates, one of Artaxerxes Mnemon's principal officers, goes over to Ageſilaus, and does him great ſervices, IV. 233. offended at the exceſſive ſeverity of Herippidas, he retires to Sardis, 234
Spithrobates, ſatrap of Ionia, and ſon-in-law of Darius, diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his valour at the battle of the Granicus, VI. 29. Alexander lays him dead with his lance, 30
Stagira, city of Macedonia, Ariſtotle's country, deſtroyed by Philip, and rebuilt by Alexander, VI. 4
Staſicrates, architect and great mechanic, is appointed by Alexander to execute the Catafalco, or magnificent funeral pile of Hephæſtion, VI. 277. he propoſes to Alexander to cut mount Athos into the form of a man, *ibid.* See Dinocrates.
Stater, ancient coin: Its value, III. 382
States. See Kingdoms.
Statira, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon: revenge which ſhe takes for the death of her brother Teriteuchmes, IV. 147
Statira, wife of Darius, falls into Alexander's hands, VI. 61. death of that princeſs, 118
Statira, eldeſt daughter of Darius, marries Alexander the Great, VI. 263. ſhe is murdered by the intrigues of Roxana, VII. 7
Statira, ſiſter of Mithridates, receives orders from that prince to die, X. 114. ſhe dies courageouſly, *ibid.*
Statuaries. See Sculptors.
Steſagoras, eldeſt ſon of Cimon, is eſtabliſhed ſovereign of the Thracian Cherſoneſus by his uncle Miltiades, III. 145
Stilpon of Megara, philoſopher, VII. 105, 106
Stirrups. The uſe of them unknown to the ancients, IV. 390
Stratius, phyſician, goes to Rome with Attalus, IX. 98. his wife remonſtrances prevent that prince from aſking to ſhare the kingdom of Pergamus with his brother Eumenes, 99, &c.

Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius, marries Seleucus, VII. 151. that prince gives her to his ſon Antiochus, 195
Stratonice, one of the wives of Mithridates, ſubmits to Pompey, X. 154 revenge Mithridates takes of her, *ibid.*
Sua, king of Ethiopia. See Sabacus.
Submiſſion: Means for inſpiring it, II. 258. manner of exacting the ſubmiſſion of nations by the Perſians, III. 130, &c.
Suffetes, chief magiſtrate of the Carthaginians, I. 278
Sulpicius (P.) Roman prætor, is ſent againſt Philip, VIII. 79. different actions of Sulpitius in Macedonia, 80. he is elected conſul, and goes into Macedonia, 139. he gains a conſiderable victory over Philip, 147.
Sulpitius Gallus, tribune of the Roman army againſt Perſeus, foretels an eclipſe to the troops, IX. 72. the ſenate commiſſions him to inſpect ſecretly into the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus, 116. his imprudent conduct in executing that commiſſion, *ibid.*
Sun. Profound reverence with which the Perſians adored that ſtar, II. 425
Superſtition. Its great effect upon the minds of the populace, VI. 121
Supreme Good. See Good.
Surena, general of the army of the Parthians, gains a great victory over Craſſus, IX. 298. Orodes, jealous of his glory, puts him to death, 315. praiſe of Surena, *ibid.*
Surveying invented by the Egyptians, I. 216
Suſa, city of Perſia, ſubmits to Alexander, VI. 139
Swans, what is ſaid of their ſinging, I. 190
Sybaris, city of Great Greece, III 361. luxury and effeminacy of its inhabitants, *ibid.* total ruin of that city, 362
Syenneſis, king of Cilicia, abandons the pais of that country on the approach of Cyrus the Younger, IV. 169
Sylla ſerves under Marius in quality of quæſtor, II. 173. that general ſends him to Bocchus to receive Jugurtha from him, *ibid.* he cauſes a ring to be made with that action repreſented upon it, which he uſed ever after as his ſeal, *ibid.* he reeſtabliſhes Ariobarzanes, upon the throne of Cappadocia, X. 72. he is charged with the war againſt Mithridates, 80. he beſieges Athens, *ibid.* and takes it, 85. he is victorious in three great battles againſt the general of Mithridates, 87. he has an interview with that prince and grants him peace, 96. he marches againſt Fimbria, 98. he goes to Athens, ſeiſes its library, and ſends it to Rome, 100
Syloſon, brother of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos: his generoſity to Darius, III. 106. reward which he receives for it, *ibid.*
Syphax, king of Numidia, joins with the Romans, II. 123. he is defeated by Maſiniſſa, 124. he marries Sophoniſba, and goes over to the Carthaginians, *ibid.* he is defeated by Scipio, and taken priſoner, *ibid.*
Syraco, name of a marſh from whence Syracuſe took its name, IV. 49
Syracuſe, city of Sicily: its foundation, IV. 49. deſcription of that city, *ibid.* hiſtory of Syracuſe to the reign of Gelon, X. 59. ſiege of Syracuſe by the Athenians, IV. 52. the city is reduced to extremities, 62. the arrival of Gylippus changes the

the face of affairs, 63. the Syracuſans make themſelves maſters of the Athenian army, and put the two generals to death, 91. Dionyſius makes himſelf tyrant of Syracuſe, V. 4. ineffectual attempts of the Syracuſans againſt him, 13, &c. Dionyſius the Younger ſucceeds his father, 51. Dion expels him, 68, &c. horrible ingratitude of the Syracuſans to Dion, 78, &c. Dionyſius the Younger re-aſcends the throne, 95. Syracuſe implores the aid of the Corinthians, who ſend them Timoleon, 98. that general reinſtates the liberty of the city, 106, 107. Agathocles uſurps ſupreme authority at Syracuſe, I. 328. after the death of that tyrant, Syracuſe recovers its liberty, X. 62. it calls in the aid of Pyrrhus againſt the Carthaginians, I. 340. it chooſes Hiero II. king, X. 4. mildneſs of his reign, 9. Hieronymus ſucceeds Hiero, 23. troubles at Syracuſe after the death of Hieronymus, 29. Syracuſe beſieged and taken by Marcellus, 39, 55. reflections upon the government and character of the Syracuſans, 63

Syria, province of Aſia, I. 29. it is reduced into a Roman province, IX. 250

Syſigambis, mother of Darius, is taken priſoner by Alexander, after the battle of Iſſus, VI. 61. ſhe cannot ſurvive the death of Alexander, 287

T.

Tachos aſcends the throne of Egypt, V. 190. he raiſes troops to defend himſelf againſt the king of Perſia, *ibid.* he obtains troops from the Lacedæmonians, who are commanded by Ageſilaus, 190. ſeeing himſelf abandoned by Ageſilaus, he quits Egypt, and retires to the court of Perſia, 192. Artaxerxes pardons him, and gives him the command of his troops againſt the rebels, *ibid.*

Tactics: wherein that art conſiſts, II. 404

Talent. Value of the Babylonian talent, II. 192. value of the Attick talent, *ibid.*

Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, honoured as a god at Sparta, III. 152

Tamos, Egyptian, commands the fleet of Cyrus the Younger in that prince's expedition againſt his brother, IV. 168

Tanaoxares, ſon of Cyrus. See Smerdis.

Tarentum, city of Italy, I. 141. the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid againſt the Romans, VII. 211. that prince leaves a garriſon in their city, 232

Tarraconia, part of the ancient Spain, I. 305

Tarſus, city of Cilicia, ſubjected by Alexander, VI. 40

Taxilus, Indian king, puts himſelf under the protection of Alexander, VI. 223. he accompanies that prince in his expedition againſt Porus, *ibid.* Alexander ſends him to Porus to perſuade him to ſubmit, 231. Porus is reconciled to Taxilus, 244

Taxilus, one of the generals of Mithridates, joins Archelaus, and is defeated by Sylla, X. 86, 90

Tagæa, city of Arcadia, III. 3. war between its inhabitants and thoſe of Mantinæa, V. 170

Tegyra, city of Bœotia, battle between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians near it, V. 136

Telearch, office amongſt the Thebans: what it was, V. 154

Teleclès,

Telecles, king of Lacedæmon, aſſaſſinated by the Meſſenians, I. 139
Teleſcope, glaſs for ſeeing remote objects: Invention of it, VIII. 107
Teleutias is declared admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet by the credit of Ageſilaus, his brother by the mother's ſide, IV. 249. he beſieges Corinth by ſea, *ibid.* he is ſent againſt Olynthus, in the room of Phœbidas, V. 120. he is killed in battle, *ibid.*
Tellus, citizen of Athens, eſteemed moſt happy, and why, II. 239
Telys, Sybarite, occaſions the ruin of his country, III. 361
Temples, famous ones of Greece, VI. 1.
Ten. Council of Ten eſtabliſhed at Athens, IV. 157
Tennes, king of Sidon, delivers up that city to Ochus, V. 222. Ochus, to reward his treaſon, puts him to death, *ibid.*
Tenth Cuſtom among the Greeks of giving the tenth to the gods, III. 235
Terence, Latin poet: abridgement of his life, I. 292
Terillus, tyrant of Himera, deprived of his power by Theron, engages the Carthaginians to invade Sicily, III. 344
Teriteuchmes, brother of Statira, wife of Artaxerxes, marries Hameſtris, daughter of Darius, IV. 146. tragical hiſtory of Teriteuchmes, *ibid.*
Teuta, after the death of Agron her huſband, prince of Illyrium, reigns in his ſtead, VII. 306. her groſs inſult on the Romans in the perſons of their ambaſſadors, *ibid.* ſhe is obliged to demand peace of them, and obtains it, 307
Thais, famous courtezan born in Attica, occaſions the burning of the palace of Perſepolis, in a party of debauch with Alexander, VI. 148
Thales of Miletus, philoſopher; reaſons that prevent him from marrying, III. 50. founder of the Ionic ſect, 81
Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons, comes from a remote country to viſit Alexander, VI. 166
Tharaca, king of Ethiopia, after the death of Sethon, I. 251
Tharſis, ſecond ſon of Javan, ſettles in Greece, III. 8
Thaſus, iſland in Thrace, revolts againſt the Athenians, III. 286. Cimon obliges it to ſubmit, *ibid.* 287
Theano, prieſteſs at Athens, refuſes to curſe Alcibiades, IV. 46
Thearides, brother to Dionyſius the Elder, is ſent to Olympia by that tyrant to diſpute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race, V. 40
Theatre. Deſcription of the theatre of the ancients, I. 117. declamation, or ſpeaking of the theatre compoſed and ſet to notes, 119
Thebais, part of Egypt, I. 168
Thebe, wife of Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, obtains permiſſion of her huſband to ſee and converſe with Pelopidas, V. 165. her converſations with that Theban make her conceive an averſion for her huſband, *ibid.* ſhe makes her three brothers aſſaſſinate the tyrant, 169
Thebes, city of Bœotia in Greece: its foundation, III. 13. kings of Thebes, *ibid.* the Thebans beſiege Platæa, 369. they gain a victory over the Athenians, near Delium, IV. 10. they give refuge to the Athenians, who fled after the taking of their city by Lyſander, 156. they enter into a league with Tithrauſtes

Tithrauſtes againſt the Lacedæmonians, 237. valour of the Thebans at the battle of Coronæa, 246. they are compelled by the treaty of Antalcides to give the cities of Bœotia their liberty, V. 115. Thebes falls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, 117. Pelopidas reinſtates its liberty, 124. the Thebans gain a conſiderable advantage over the Lacædemonians near Tegyra, 136. they deſtroy Platææ and Theſpiæ, 138. they defeat the Lacedæmonians, and put them to flight at the battle of Leuctra, 143. they ravage Laconia, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 149. they ſend Pelopidas to the court of Perſia, and obtain the title of friends and allies of the king, 155. they make Alexander tyrant of Pheræ ſubmit, 158, 159

The Thebans make a ſecond attempt againſt Sparta, V. 170. they gain a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near Mantinæa, 175, &c. they aid Artabaſus againſt the king of Perſia, 204. they call in Philip to their aid againſt the Phocians, 281. The Thebans, Meſſenians, and Argives, enter into an alliance with Philip to attack Peloponneſus, 294. the Thebans join the Athenians againſt Philip, 318. they are defeated near Cheronæa, 322. Philip puts a garriſon into their city, *ibid.* the Thebans, after the death of that prince, put part of the garriſon to the ſword, VI. 13. Alexander marches againſt them, and deſtroys their city, 14, &c. re-eſtabliſhment of Thebes by Caſſander, VII. 68. the Thebans make an alliance with the Romans in the war againſt Perſeus, IX. 19. they ſurrender themſelves to the Romans, 37. Sylla deprives them of half their territory, X. 91

Theft of a certain kind permitted and even commanded to the young Lacedæmonians, III. 30. it was the moſt ſeverely puniſhed of all the crimes by the Scythians, 114

Themiſtocles, Athenian, diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the battle of Marathon, III. 157. he removes Epicydes from the command, and cauſes himſelf to be elected general in his ſtead, 194. he ſupports the decree to recall Ariſtides, 195. he reſigns the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, 197. he determines the Athenians to abandon their city, 208. he determines the Greeks to fight in the ſtrait of Salamin, 212. the Lacedæmonians decree the prize of wiſdom to him after the victory of Salamin, 220. acclamations with which he is received at the Olympic Games, *ibid.* he re-inſtates the works of Athens, and fortifies the Piræeus, 248. black deſign which he conceives for ſupplanting the Lacedæmonians, 249. the Athenians and Lacedæmonians uniting againſt him as an accomplice in the conſpiracy of Pauſanias, he takes refuge with Admetus, 257. he retires to Artaxerxes, 274. his great credit with that prince, 277. he kills himſelf, 288. character of Themiſtocles, 144, 289

Themiſtus, magiſtrate of Syracuſe, conſpires with Andranodorus to ſeiſe the ſovereignty, X. 32. he is killed by order of the other magiſtrates, *ibid.*

Thenon, commander of the citadel of Syracuſe, ſurrenders himſelf

himſelf to Pyrrhus, VII. 233. that prince puts him to death, 234, 235
Theoeritus, poet at the court of Hiero, X. 16
Theodotus, chief of the Eumolpidæ at Athens: what he ventured to ſay in reſpect to the maledictions or curſes, IV. 112
Theodorus, citizen of Syracuſe, ventures to declare himſelf openly againſt Dionyſius in favour of liberty, V. 30
Theodotus, uncle of Heraclides, is deputed by him to Dion, to conjure him to return to the aid of Syracuſe, V. 83. he puts himſelf into Dion's hands, 85. Dion pardons him, 86
Theodotus, governor of Bactriana, revolts againſt Antiochus, and cauſes himſelf to be declared king of that province, VII. 264. he dies, 284
Theodotus, ſon of the former, ſucceeds his father, VII. 284. forms a league offenſive and defenſive with Arſaces, *ibid.*
Theodotus is charged by Antiochus with the war againſt Molo, VIII 5. he is defeated and obliged to abandon the field of battle, *ibid.*
Theodotus, Ætolian, governor of Cœloſyria for Ptolemy, defends the entrance into that province againſt Antiochus, and obliges that prince to retire, VIII. 7. he is accuſed, and obliged to go to the court of Egypt to give an account of his conduct, 15. in reſentment for that affront, he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 16. he enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with deſign to kill him, 20. he falls in that attempt, and eſcapes to his camp, *ibid.*
Theodotus, one of the principal conſpirators againſt the life of Hieronymus, is put to the rack, and dies without diſcovering any of his accomplices, X. 26
Theodotus, preceptor to the laſt Ptolemy, adviſes that prince to put Pompey to death, X. 177. he goes to preſent the head of that Roman to Cæſar, 179
Theogiton, of Megara, gives the Greeks wiſe advice after the battle of Platææ, III. 233
Theophraſtus, Antigonus's general, refuſes to quit Corinth, VII. 304. Aratus cauſes him to be put to death, *ibid.*
Theophraſtus, philoſopher, his diſpute with an old woman of Athens, in buying ſomething of her, IV. 398
Theopompus, king of Sparta, commands in the war againſt the Argives, I. 138. then againſt the Meſſenians, 139. he is defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death by Ariſtomenes, 141. eſtabliſhes the Ephori, III. 24
Theopompus, diſciple of Iſocrates, gains the prize of eloquence over his maſter, and has the weakneſs and vanity to brag of it, V. 216
Theoxena, Theſſalian lady, daughter of Herodicus, marries Perſi, VIII. 340. tragical and courageous end of Theoxena, 342
Theramenes, one of the Athenian generals, is charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginuſæ, IV. 126. not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals reſponſible for it, and accuſes them at Athens, 127. he is deputed to Lyſander during the ſiege of Athens, 139. he oppoſes the violence of his colleagues,

colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himſelf, 153. he is accuſed by Critias, and put to death, 155
Therma, capital city of Ætolia, taken by ſurpriſe, and ravaged by Philip, VIII. 50.
Thermopylæ, paſs of mount Œta in Theſſaly, III. 198. battle of Thermopylæ between the Lacedæmonians and Xerxes, 200. &c. victory of the Romans over Antiochus near Thermopylæ, VIII. 238
Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, makes an alliance with Gelon, and gains in conjunction with him a great battle over the Carthaginians, III. 344
Theſeus, king of Athens, III. 13. he dies in the iſland of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, 281. Cimon brings his bones to Athens, *ibid.*
Theſmothetæ, Athenian magiſtrates, IV. 367
Theſpiæ, city of Achaia, ruined by the Thebans, V. 137
Theſpis. Greek poet, conſidered as the inventor of tragedy, III. 81
Theſſalonica, wife of Caſſander, is killed by Antipater, his eldeſt ſon, VII. 158
Theſſalus, third ſon of Piſiſtratus, III. 65
Theſſaly, province of ancient Greece, III. 2. the Theſſalians ſubmit to Xerxes, 198. they implore aid of the Thebans againſt Alexander of Pheræ, 159. Pelopidas delivers them from his power, *ibid.* they have recourſe to Philip againſt their tyrants, 269. that prince delivers them, *ibid.*
Theſta, ſiſter of Dionyſius the Elder, and wife of Polyxenes: courageous anſwer which ſhe gives her brother upon the occaſion of her huſband's eſcape, V. 32
Theti, name of the lower claſs of people at Athens, IV. 356
Thethmoſis, or Amoſis, having driven the king-ſhepherds out of Egypt, reigns there, I. 233
Thimbron, Lacedæmonian general, marches againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus, IV. 204. upon ſome diſcontent he is recalled, 211
Thirty. Council of thirty eſtabliſhed at Lacedæmon, III. 24. thirty tyrants eſtabliſhed at Athens, by Lyſander, IV. 141. cruelties which they commit in that city, 153. Thraſybulus drives them out of Athens, 156. they endeavour to re-inſtate themſelves, and are all put to the ſword, 157
Thoas, Ætolian, charged with the execution of a deſign to ſeiſe Chalcis, fails in the attempt, VIII. 224, he goes to Antiochus, and determines him to enter Greece, 227
Thrace, province of Europe; very ſingular cuſtoms of its inhabitants, III. 128. Thrace ſubjected by Philip, V. 291, &c.
Thraſo, confidant of Hieronymus, is accuſed by Theodotus of having conſpired againſt that prince, X. 26. he is put to death, *ibid.*
Thraſybulus, tyrant of Miletus, is beſieged by Halyattes, II. 237. ſtratagem which he uſes to deliver himſelf from that ſiege, 238
Thraſybulus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuſe after Hiero's death, III. 355. he cauſes himſelf to be dethroned by his cruelty, *ibid.*
Thraſybulus is made general of the Athenians, IV. 104. he aceuſes Alcibiades at Athens, and

and cauſes him to be depoſed, 118. he quits to Athens to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, 156. he expels the tyrants from that city, and re-inſtates its liberty, *ibid.*

Thraſylus is made general of the Athenians, IV. 104

Thraſymené. Lake of Tuſcany, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, II. 67

Thucydides, Greek hiſtorian; he is commanded to go to the aid of Amphipolis, IV. 9. the Athenians make it a crime in him to have ſuffered that city to be taken, and baniſh him, *ibid.*

Thucydides, brother-in-law to Cimon, is ſet up againſt Pericles by the nobility of Athens, III. 313. Pericles prevails to have him baniſhed, 318

Thurium, city of Sicily: Its foundation, III, 362

Thymbra, city of Lydia, famous for the battle between Cyrus and Crœſus, II. 287

Thyræa, ſmall territory of Greece, which occaſioned the war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, I. 138

Thyus, governor of Paphlagonia, revolts againſt Artaxerxes, IV. 270. he is conquered by Datames, 271

Tiberius Gracchus is ſent by the ſenate into Aſia to examine into the conduct of Eumenes, and that of Antiochus, IX. 116. See Gracchus.

Ticinus, river of Italy, near which P. Scipio was defeated by Hannibal, II. 58

Tiglah Pilezer, king of Nineveh, II. 203. he aids Ahaz, king of Judah, againſt the kings of Syria and Iſrael, 204

Tigranes, ſon of a king of Armenia, obtains pardon for his father of Cyrus II. II. 264. he commands the Armenian troops, 265

Tigranes, ſon of Tigranes, king of Armenia, is ſet at liberty by the Parthians on his father's death, and placed upon the throne, IX. 239. he accepts the crown of Syria, and wears it eighteen years, 243. he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, X. 73. he invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, 102. he gives Mithridates refuge, 115. the Romans declare war againſt him, 119. Tigranes is defeated by Lucullus, 126. he raiſes new troops in concert with Mithridates, 129. he is defeated a ſecond time, 134. Pompey marches againſt him, and finds him at war with his ſon, 147. Tigranes ſubmits his perſon and crown to the diſcretion of Pompey and the Romans, 148. Pompey leaves him part of his dominions, 149

Tigranes, ſon of the former, makes war with his father, X. 147. he puts himſelf under the protection of Pompey, 148. not being ſatisfied with Pompey's decree, he endeavours to fly, 149. Pompey reſerves him for his triumph, *ibid.*

Tigranocerta, city of Armenia, built by Tigranes, X. 102. Lucullus takes it, and abandons it to be plundered by the ſoldiers, 128

Tigris, river of Aſia, VI. 119

Timæa, wife of Ægis: Exceſs of her paſſion for Alcibiades, IV. 49

Timagoras, deputed by the Athenians to the court of Perſia, receives great preſents, and is condemned to die at his return, V. 156

Timandra, concubine, renders Alcibiades the laſt duties, IV. 150

Timarchus, tyrant of Miletus, is conquered and killed by Antiochus Theos, VII. 259
Timarchus, governor of Babylon, revolts againſt Demetrius Soter, and is put to death, IX. 179
Timaſion is choſen one of the generals of the Greeks after the death of Clearchus, IV. 192
Timaſitheus, chief of the pirates of Lipara: his noble and religious behaviour in reſpect to the Romans, V. 96
Timenes, one of the principal Heraclidæ, re-enters Peloponneſus, III. 17. Argos falls to him by lot, *ibid.*
Timocrates, friend of Dionyſius the Younger, marries Dion's wife while he is baniſhed, V. 68. he flies on the approach of Dion, 73
Timolaus of Corinth adviſes the cities in alliance againſt the Spartans to attack them in their own territory, IV. 241
Timolaus, Lacedæmonian, at whoſe houſe Philopœmen lay, is ſent by his country to offer him the riches of Nabis, VIII. 226. he finds it difficult to acquit himſelf of that commiſſion, *ibid.*
Timoleon, Corinthian, ſacrifices his brother Timophanes to his country, V. 98. the Corinthians ſend him to the aid of Syracuſe, 100. he eludes the vigilance of the Carthaginians by a wiſe ſtratagem, 101. he gains an advantage over the Carthaginians and Icetas near the city of Adranon, 102. he enters Syracuſe, *ibid.* Dionyſius ſurrenders himſelf to him, 102. Timoleon ſends him to Corinth, *ibid.* he gains ſeveral victories over the Carthaginians, 105. he re-eſtabliſhes the liberty of Syracuſe, and inſtitutes wiſe laws there, 107, &c. he frees the other cities of Sicily from tyranny, 109, &c. he gains a great victory over the Carthaginians, 111. he is accuſed and cited to anſwer, 112. he quits his authority, and paſſes the reſt of his life in retirement, *ibid.* &c. he dies in it, *ibid.* great honours rendered his memory, 113, &c. his praiſe, *ibid.*
Timophanes, Corinthian, having made himſelf tyrant of his country, his brother Timoleon cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated, V. 99
Timotheus, ſon of Conon, is ſent by the Athenians with a fleet to the aid of the Thebans, V. 134. he ravages the coaſts of Laconia, and makes himſelf maſter of the iſland of Corcyra, *ibid.* he is employed by the Athenians in the war againſt the allies, 204. he is accuſed by Chares, and ſentenced to pay a great fine, 208. he retires to Chalcis, and dies there, *ibid.* fine ſaying of Timotheus, 167.
Timotheus, lieutenant of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, VIII, 414. he is defeated a ſecond time by the ſame captain in the reign of Antiochus Eupator, IX. 169
Timoxenes is choſen general of the Achæans, in the room of Aratus, VII. 338
Tiribaſus, general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, determines that prince not to fly before his brother Cyrus, IV. 172. he commands the fleet of Artaxerxes againſt Evagoras, and beſieges that prince in Salamin, 259. he is falſely accuſed by Orontes, and carried to the court in chains, 360. trial of Tiribaſus, 265. the king diſcovers his innocence, and reſtores him to his favour, 266. Tiribaſus accompanies

accompanies Artaxerxes in that prince's expedition againſt the Caduſeans, 267. his ſtratagem for making that people return to their obedience to the Perſians, *ibid.*

Tiribaſus, ſatrap of weſtern Armenia, incommodes the ten thouſand Greeks in their retreat, IV. 196

Tirintatechmus, ſon of Artabanes, one of the commanders of the army of Xerxes in that prince's expedition againſt Greece, III. 189

Tiſamenes, ſon of Oreſtes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Penthilus, III. 12

Tiſippus, Ætolian, is accuſed of having exerciſed great cruelties againſt thoſe who had not taken party with the Romans againſt Perſeus, IX. 106. Paulus Æmilius acquits him, 107

Tiſſaphernes, Perſian of quality, is appointed by Darius to reduce Piſuthnes governor of Lydia, IV. 4. he effects it, and has the government of Lydia for his reward, 5. he ſuffers himſelf to be ſeduced by the flattery of Alcibiades, and gives himſelf up entirely to him, 96. he concludes a treaty with the Peloponneſians, 102. he cauſes Alcibiades to be ſeiſed, and ſent priſoner to Sardis, 107. he commands in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon at the battle of Cunaxa, and diſtinguiſhes himſelf in it, 172. he takes upon him to re-conduct the Greeks into their own country, 185. he ſeiſes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and ſends them to Artaxerxes, 189. he joins Pharnabaſus to oppoſe the enterpriſes of Dercyllidas, 215. he ſends to command Ageſilaus to quit Aſia, and to declare war againſt him in caſe of refuſal, 228. he is defeated near Sardis, 230. he is treacherouſly accuſed, 231, Artaxerxes puts him to death, *ibid.* character of Tiſſaphernes, 231

Tithrauſtes ſeiſes Tiſſaphernes by order of Artaxerxes, and is placed at the head of the army in his ſtead, IV. 231. he arms the ſeveral ſtates of Greece againſt the Lacedæmonians, 237

Tobit is carried captive into Aſſyria, II. 205. he hides himſelf ſome time to avoid the cruelty of Sennacherib, 208. he foretels the ruin of Nineveh to his children, 209

Tomyris, queen of the Scythians, II. 344. Herodotus relates that ſhe cauſed Cyrus to be put to death, *ibid.*

Tragedy: Its origin, I. 94. its progreſs, *ibid.* poets who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in tragedy, *ibid.*

Treaties. Odd cuſtom of making treaties among the Iberians and Scythians, III. 112

Trebia, river of Lombardy, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, II. 62

Termellius, ſurnamed Scrofa, defeats and kills a third uſurper of the kingdom of Macedonia, IX. 132

Trezena, city of Argolis, gives refuge to the Athenians who had lately abandoned their city, III. 209

Triarius, one of Lucullus's lieutenants, is defeated by Mithridates, X. 137

Tribali, people of Mœſia, V. 309. they pretend to ſhare with Philip in the booty taken from the Scythians, *ibid.* they are defeated by that prince, *ibid.* they are defeated by Alexander, VI. 13

Tributes. Reaſons for the eſtabliſhment of them, II. 394

Trierarchs,

Trierarchs, Athenian officers: Their functions, V. 238
Trophies erected by the ancients after a victory, I. 86
Trophonius, hero, I. 48. famous oracles of Trophonius in Bœotia, *ibid.*
Trough: kind of punishment used by the Persians, III. 273
Troy, city of Asia, taken and burnt by the Greeks, III. 14
Truth: It is the foundation of the commerce between men, V. 343
Tryphena, daughter of Physcon, is married to Antiochus Grypus, IX. 224. she sacrifices her sister Cleopatra to her jealousy, 228. Antiochus, of Cyzicum, puts her to death in torments, 229
Tunis, city of Africa, is taken by Regulus, II. 9. the mercenaries revolting against Carthage make it their place of arms, 30
Tyche, quarter of the city of Syracuse, IV. 51
Tydeus, one of the Athenian generals, rejects the advice of Alcibiades, and occasion the loss of the battle of Ægospotamos, IV. 135
Tyndarus, king of Lacedæmon, III. 14
Tyrant. Origin of that name and its signification, III. 20. difference between a king and a tyrant, V. 2, &c.
Tyre, city of Phœnicia: Its foundation, VI. 88. Tyre besieged and taken by Nabucodonosor, II. 215. Darius re-instates it in its ancient privileges, III. 135. Tyre besieged and taken by Alexander, VI. 74, &c. then by Antigonus, VII. 86. accomplishment of the different prophecies concerning Tyre, VI. 90
Tyrtæus, Greek poet; the Athenians give him to the Lacedæmonians to command them, I. 147. character of his poetry, *ibid.* he revives the courage of the latter, and occasions their gaining a great victory over the Messenians, 148. he is made a citizen of Sparta, *ibid.*

V.

Varguntius, one of the lieutenants of Cassus, being separated from the main body of the army, is attacked by the Parthians, and dies fighting gloriously, IX. 307
Varro (C. Terentius.) consul, is defeated by Hannibal at the battle of Cannæ, II. 78
Vashti, wife of Darius. See Atossa.
Uchoreus, king of Egypt, builds Memphis, I. 233
Udiastes, friend of Teriteuchmes, assassinates him by order of Darius, IV. 147. Statira causes him to be put to death in torments, *ibid.*
Ventidius, Roman soldier, rises to the highest dignities of the commonwealth by his merit, IX. 318. he revenges the disgrace of the Romans at the battle of Carræ, and defeats the Parthians upon several occasions, 319, &c.
Vilius is elected consul, and makes war with Philip in the room of Sulpitius, VIII. 150. nothing passes considerable during his year, 151. he is sent ambassador to Antiochus, and succeeds in making that prince suspect Hannibal, 214
University of Paris. France obliged to it for the establishment of posts and post-offices, II. 392
Urania, divinity of the Carthaginians. See Moon.
Usury: To what excess it was carried in the latter times of the Roman commonwealth, X. 117

Utica, city of Africa, abandons the side of Carthage, and joins the revolted mercenaries, II. 32. is reduced to surrender at discretion, 35. it puts itself into the hands of the Romans, 135. the latter reward it with the lands between Carthage and Hippo, 153
Uxii, people upon the frontiers of Persia, conquered by Alexander the Great, VI. 143

W.

Wasps, comedy of Aristophanes, called the Wasps, I. 110
Water. Sweet water how preserved at Alexandria, X. 185
Wells of Joseph in the castle of Cairo in Egypt: Description of them, I. 170
Women. Whether they ought to be admitted to the administration of public affairs, the command of armies, and the sovereignty of states, II. 196
Wrestling. Exercise of wrestling amongst the ancients, I. 68
Writing. Its beginnings, I. 222

X.

Xanthippus, Lacedemonian, comes to the aid of the Carthaginians, II. 10. he defeats the army of Regulus, 13. he retires and disappears soon after, 14
Xanthippus, citizen of Athens, accuses Miltiades of treason, III. 162
Xanthippus, father of Pericles, abandoning Athens on the approach of Xerxes, his dog follows his ship to Salamin, and expires on the shore, III. 210
Xanthippus, Athenian, commands the fleet of the Greeks in conjunction with Leotychides king of Sparta, and gains a great victory over the Persians, near Mycale, III. 239
Xanthippus, eldest son of Pericles, dies of the plague, III. 384
Xanthus, philosopher, whose slave Æsop was, III. 89
Xantippe, wife of Socrates: his sufferings from her ill humour, IV. 281
Xenetas, Achæan, is sent against Molo and Alexander and Antiochus, VIII. 6. he falls into an ambuscade and is cut to pieces with his whole army, *ibid.*
Xenocrates, philosopher, in what manner he was received by Antipater, to whom he had been sent ambassador by the Athenians, VII. 18
Xenon is charged by Antiochus with the war against Molo, VIII. 5. he is defeated, *ibid.*
Xenon, Achæan, exclaimes against the demand of the Roman commissaries in an assembly, IX. 109
Xenophanes, Philip's ambassador to Hannibal, falls into the hands of the Romans, VIII. 68. he escapes and concludes the treaty with Hannibal, *ibid.* he is taken on his return by the Romans, 69
Xenophon, historian and philosopher; he commands the ten thousand Greeks after the death of Clearchus, and brings them back into their own country, IV. 192, &c. he joins the Lacedæmonians in the war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus, 204. he acts under Agesilaus, at the battle of Coronæa, 245. difference between Xenophon and Herodotus in their accounts of Cyrus, II. 352, &c.

Xerxes I. ſon of Darius, is elected king of Perſia in preference to his brother Artabazanes, III. 166. he confirms the Jews in their privileges, 170. he reduces Egypt, *ibid.* he prepares to invade Greece, *ibid.* he deliberates with his council concerning that expedition, *ibid.* wiſe ſpeech of Artabanes to him, 172. rage of Xerxes upon that occaſion, 174. he diſcovers his error, and confeſſes it in full council, 175. the war is reſolved, 177. Xerxes enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians, 179. he begins his march, and gives orders for cutting a way through mount Athos, *ibid.* his letter to that mountain upon that ſubject, 180. he advances to Sardis, *ibid.* his cruelty to Pythias, 182. he marches towards the Helleſpont, 183. he cauſes the ſea to be chaſtiſed for having broken the bridge of boats which he had laid over it, 185. he orders a ſecond to be built, and paſſes the Helleſpont with his army, *ibid.* number of his forces, 187. Demaratus tell him freely his thoughts of this enterpriſe, 191. three hundred Spartans diſpute the paſs of Thermopylæ with Xerxes, 200. that prince in his rage cauſes the dead body of Leonidas to be affixed to a gibbet, 201. he takes and burns Athens, 211. he is defeated at Salamin, 216. he leaves Mardonius in Greece, and returns precipitately into Aſia, 217. violent paſſion of Xerxes for the wife of his brother Maſiſtus, and afterwards for Artainta that princeſs's daughter, 242. he cauſes Maſiſtus to be put to death, 244. he gives himſelf up to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, 269. he is killed by Artabanus, captain of his guards, *ibid.* character of Xerxes, 270, &c.

Xerxes II. ſon of Artaxerxes Mnemon, aſcends the throne of Perſia, IV. 1. he is aſſaſſinated by his brother Sogdianus, *ibid.*

Xiphares, ſon of Mithridates, is killed by his father, X. 154

Xuthus, ſon of Helenus, ſettles in Attica, III. 16

Xychus, who had been at Rome with Apelles and Philocles, in quality of ſecretary to their embaſſy, is ſeiſed and carried before Philip, VIII. 368. he diſcovers the whole plot of Perſeus againſt Demetrius, *ibid.*

Y.

Yazdan, the good deity of the Perſians, II. 429

Year, ſolar, when firſt uſed, I. 216

Youth. The irregularities of that time of life are not always ſufficient grounds for deſpairing of a young man, III. 279

Z.

Zabdiel, Arabian prince, betrays Alexander Bala, IX. 189. he delivers up Antiochus, ſon of Bala, to Tryphon, 193

Zaleucus, legiſlator of the Locrians, III. 365. wiſdom of his laws, *ibid.*

Zancle, city of Sicily, IV. 31. See Meſſene.

Zebina. See Alexander Zebina.

Zenis, Dardanian, governor of Æolia under Pharnabazus, IV. 212

Zenodotus, librarian of Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria, IX. 285

Zerah, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, makes war with Asa, king of Judah, and is defeated, I. 247
Zeugitæ, third class of the citizens of Athens, IV. 356
Zoippus, Hiero's son-in-law: His great credit with Hieronymus, X. 26. he goes ambassador to Egypt, and stays there in voluntary banishment, 34
Zopyrus, Persian lord, mutilates himself for the service of Darius, III. 109. he makes that prince master of Babylon, *ibid.* reward given by Darius for so great a service, 110
Zopyrus, slave of Pericles, and governor of Alcibiades, IV. 20
Zoroaster, founder of the sect of the Magi amongst the Persians, II. 428
Zoroaster, another chief and reformer of the same sect, II. 428
Zorobabel, chief of the Jews who return to Jerusalem after the decree of Cyrus, II. 336

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